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FROM

George G. Wright,

Cambridge

6 Nov, 1897.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Louisville Conference

FOR

GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

AND OF THE

Third Annual Meeting

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HELD

MAY 5, 6 AND 7, 1897

PHILADELPHIA
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
1897

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*George G. Smith
of Cambridge.*

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Chairman and Editor.

INTRODUCTION.

The Louisville Conference for Good City Government may be said to mark the completion of the preliminary descriptive work of the National Municipal League, as the present volume contains what in all likelihood will be the last series of papers on the municipal conditions of American cities—papers that have proved to be so helpful, not only to the municipal reformer but to the general student of governmental problems, and which we feel have met a well-defined want. The adoption of the resolution providing for a Committee of Ten to report on the feasibility of a Municipal Program marks the inauguration of a policy of concrete, definite work, and all of the time of the next Conference will probably be required for the discussion of the report of this Committee, whose work has already progressed sufficiently to give indications that it will be a distinct and important contribution to the study of municipal government in America.

As heretofore, it is a pleasure to note the increasing demand for our publications on the part of libraries and colleges, showing a deepening appreciation of the League's work. In fact, the growth in sound public sentiment along municipal lines has

been co-extensive with the increased interest in and demand for information concerning the municipal problem. This demand it has been the constant aim of the National Municipal League both to create and to supply.

The success thus far attending its efforts is evidenced by the lengthening list of reform organizations and reform victories and the growing volume of books and pamphlets dealing with various phases of the municipal problem.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
AND
FIFTH
National Conference for Good City Government,
HELD AT
LOUISVILLE, KY., MAY 5, 6 and 7, 1897.

Wednesday, May 5, 1897, 3 P. M.

The Third Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League was called to order in the Hall of the Louisville Board of Trade by Mr. Frank N. Hartwell, Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements and a member of the Executive Committee of the League.

MR. HARTWELL: In calling the meeting to order, I wish to state that it is only proper that a word of welcome should be spoken to our guests, and that that word of welcome should be spoken by the Mayor of Louisville. To the citizens of Louisville he needs no introduction; but to you, our honored guests, I have the pleasure of presenting our Mayor, the Hon. George D. Todd.

MAYOR TODD: It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to our city. I have been connected with municipal affairs but little over one year; but I have learned enough in that time to be fully convinced that there is no city in this country which needs the benefit and experience that you gentlemen, who have made a study of municipal affairs, possess more than

(1)

this city. From the beginning I have had nothing but what might be called contention. I went from a business house to the Mayor's chair unexpectedly. I thought the proper way to conduct a municipality was on the same business principles that any successful commercial house was conducted. I so began, and I was served with an injunction of the court and could not carry out my idea. The courts were sustained right along, and every turn I would attempt to make, if it was not a judge it was a contractor who would turn up.

I have read, in many articles written by some of you gentlemen who are present, that the cities throughout this country can be managed as economically in their various departments as any business. That is just my idea, and I do not know of any work which is more beneficial to American government than that which is called municipal reform. As I said before, no city needs the benefit of your experience more than Louisville, and I only regret that we could not close up our City Hall and have the heads of our various departments here during your stay; perhaps, you could instill into them some of the magnificent principles which I know many of you advocate.

I again welcome you to our city, and I hope that your stay will be as pleasant as we shall be benefited by your papers which will be read.

MR. HARTWELL: On behalf of the National Municipal League, I will call upon the Hon. George W. Ochs, Mayor of Chattanooga, to respond to the Mayor of Louisville and to preside during this session.

MR. OCHS: It was only a moment ago that I arrived in the city and only half a moment ago that I was informed that the agreeable duty would devolve upon me, as a member of the Executive Committee, of responding to the welcome of the Mayor of Louisville and presiding this afternoon in the absence of our President.

It affords me very great pleasure, Mr. Mayor and citizens of Louisville, to accept the hospitality of this city for this session of the National Municipal League. It is the first time they have met south of the Ohio River. I hope, speaking for that locality, that meetings in the Southern States will be more frequent in the future. I regret very much to hear the statement of the Mayor of Louisville regarding his experience with the heads of his departments, and I believe that the meeting of this League in this city will effect great good, even though the members of the municipal departments do not attend. The principles that will be here presented, the policies that will be advocated, the truths that will be published to the world, must take root in every mind and must bear fruit, not only in Louisville but wherever the information of this meeting may be disseminated. I believe, Mr. Mayor, that the effect of this meeting will be for the good

of the municipal government of Louisville. It was my pleasure two years ago to attend the Cleveland Conference of the National Municipal League, while I was serving my first term as Mayor of Chattanooga. I feel that the education I derived at that session was of more practical value to me in my subsequent administration than all the books, papers, knowledge and information I procured from all other sources put together; and I believe every public official in this country owes a lasting debt of gratitude to this body for the magnificent work it is doing.

The study of municipal economics and municipal politics, if you please, has become one of the greatest national questions that confronts the American people. It is second to no other. Every home, every hearthstone, every fireside, everything that pertains to government and personal affairs, is more closely interwoven with municipal government than any other government we have, and I believe that this League is doing more to educate the American mind on the importance of these questions of municipal administration than all other agencies combined. I believe they are engaged in a patriotic service which every American citizen should feel proud to honor.

Speaking for the League, we are glad to have the privilege of enjoying the hospitality of Louisville and meeting within its gates; and I trust you and all the city officials, Mr. Mayor, will take frequent occasion to attend these meetings and that you will find as much profit from our proceedings as we intend to have pleasure and value from our session in this city of Louisville. As a member of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, I now call the meeting to order.

The first paper upon the program is upon "Municipal Reform During the Past Year," by our distinguished, efficient and most industrious Secretary, Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, whose name on account of his prominence in this movement is known throughout the country.

Mr. Woodruff then read a paper on "Municipal Reform During the Past Year." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The members of the League certainly can congratulate themselves on the very interesting sketch of the year's progress that the Secretary has presented. The Secretary, however, very modestly refrained from mentioning one conspicuous advance in good government which occurred in his own State, and that was his triumphant election as a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature as a recognition of his brilliant work in behalf of good government in this country. (Applause). And from what I learn his record in the Pennsylvania Legislature is sustaining the splendid service he has already done in the cause of good government as Secretary of the National Municipal League. (Applause).

The next paper on the program is on "Commercial Organizations and Municipal Reform," by Mr. Ryerson Ritchie, Secretary of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Ritchie then read a paper on "Commercial Organizations and Municipal Reform." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The excellent paper of the Secretary of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce contains some very notable truths which I believe every city official present can personally testify to. If the taxpayers, whose interests are concerned, realize what a powerful influence they could exercise by occasionally calling upon some of the public officials and in a sincere, honest, conscientious way discussing municipal problems with them, I believe the effects would be elevating in very many cases. It is surprising to what a small degree this is done in America. I have had some experience with city officials and I have found that the only people with whom they come in contact on current questions are the politicians who are endeavoring to get some place or accomplish some purpose, and I do not believe that the influence of this League could be directed into any more effective channel than to interest the taxpayers and the influential citizens, not only in taking an interest in municipal affairs by attending conventions and reading articles in newspapers, but by bringing the good government clubs into personal contact with the city officials. When that is done I believe the reform we so ardently hope for will be realized.

The next paper on the program is "The Wage-Earner in Politics," by Mr. George Chance, President of the Legislative Labor League of Pennsylvania.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chance is unable to be present to read his paper in person, but he has sent it to me for presentation. I therefore move that it be received and printed as a part of the proceedings of the Conference. (See *Appendix*).

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The paper by Franklin McVeagh, Esq., of Chicago, which is next on the program, will be deferred until to-night, at which time William B. Hornblower, Esq., and Horace E. Deming, Esq., of New York, will also address us. Thus we are assured of an instructive and delightful evening.

The Treasurer's annual report is now in order, and it will be read by Mr. George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia.

MR. BURNHAM: The following is the Treasurer's annual report for 1896-7:

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE—TREASURER'S REPORT.

May 5, 1897.

Receipts.

Balance on hand May 2, 1896	\$135 31
Received from Membership Dues	1,270 00
“ “ Contributions	521 00
“ “ Sales of Proceedings	234 70
Total	<u>\$2,161 01</u>

Expenditures.

General Expenses (Postage, Printing, etc.)	\$1,206 44
Minneapolis and Cleveland Proceedings Account,	54 44
Baltimore Proceedings Account	676 90
Total	<u>\$1,937 78</u>
Balance on hand May 5, 1897	223 23
	<u>\$2,161 01</u>

Total cost of M. & C. Proceedings, \$1,161.88.

THE SECRETARY: I move that the report be accepted and referred to the Executive Committee for the purpose of audit.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report of the Nominating Committee is now in order, and it will be read by Mr. Joseph A. Miller, of Providence, R. I.

MR. MILLER: On behalf of the Nominating Committee I desire to present the following nominations: For President, James C. Carter, New York; First Vice-President, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, Samuel B. Capen, Boston; Third Vice-President, Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Ore.; Fourth Vice-President, H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans; Fifth Vice-President, Edmund J. James, Chicago; Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia; Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia. Executive Committee: Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore; William G. Low, Brooklyn; Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; George W. Ochs, Chattanooga; Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia; F. L. Siddons, Washington; Dudley Tibbits, Troy; Joseph A. Miller, Providence; John A. Butler, Milwaukee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Nominating Committee. The usual proceeding is to elect officers by ballot, and, if there is no contest, to authorize the Secretary to cast the vote of the League for the various named officers and committeemen as nominated.

A motion was made that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for the nominees.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

THE SECRETARY: I desire to report that I have cast a unanimous ballot for the following officers, to serve for the ensuing year and until their successors are elected :

President, James C. Carter, New York ;
First Vice-President, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia ;
Second Vice-President, Samuel B. Capen, Boston ;
Third Vice-President, Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Ore. ;
Fourth Vice President, H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans ;
Fifth Vice-President, Edmund J. James, Chicago ;
Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia ;
Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore ;
William G. Low, Brooklyn ;
Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville ;
George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg ;
George W. Ochs, Chattanooga ;
Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland ;
Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia ;
F. L. Siddons, Washington ;
Dudley Tibbits, Troy ;
Joseph A. Miller, Providence ;
John A. Butler, Milwaukee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Secretary. The ballots having been cast for the various officers and the Executive Committee, they are declared duly elected for the ensuing year. What is the further pleasure of the meeting ?

MR. HORACE E. DEMING, of New York : If this is the proper time to introduce new business, I have a resolution I desire to offer. I will read the resolution :

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint a Committee of Ten to investigate and report on the feasibility of a Municipal Program, which shall embody the essential principles that must underlie successful municipal government and which shall also set forth a working plan or system, consistent with American political institutions and adapted to American industrial and political conditions, for putting such principles

into practical operation ; and said Committee, if it find such a Municipal Program to be feasible, is instructed to report the same, with its reasons therefor, to the League for consideration ; said Committee when appointed shall have power to fill vacancies and to add to its number for temporary or special purposes ;

"Resolved, That with the approval of the Treasurer the necessary expenses of the Committee hereby appointed may be paid out of any funds of the League not otherwise appropriated."

The last five years have been notable years in the progress of knowledge as to the municipal problem and in the awakening of public interest in municipal questions throughout the cities of this entire country. It seems to me that the papers which have appeared in our annual reports have not only been a most notable contribution to our knowledge on this subject, but have emphasized the need of making those points as to which experience and investigation have already taught us to be the fundamental principles available to every city in this country. It seems to me also that it is time that we begin, not merely to discuss the principles, not merely to meet together once a year to listen to one another's essays, but to endeavor to get into practical politics, to get into practical operation in our cities, some system which will aid in carrying out the principles on which we are agreed. Now, that is a big question. If you should go to the municipal reformers of Illinois and of Georgia and of Pennsylvania and of New York you would find a general concurrence as to principles. You would not, in all probability, find a general concurrence as to the best methods of putting these principles into practical operation. At the same time, if the men familiar with conditions in the States where the municipal problem is most important should put their heads together for the precise purpose of endeavoring to devise a system which fits into our scheme of government, in my judgment they would succeed ; with slight local variations, the system applicable in New York is applicable in Kentucky. The theory of the city under our American form of government is identical in every state in the Union. The actual framework for the government of that city varies with almost every city, and the combining of the actual experience in these different towns, which we see in the reports of our annual Conferences, teach that we have not yet struck the really right method. Now, the purpose of my resolution, Mr. President, is to get together and select a Committee of Ten who know something about this subject as students and investigators and who know something about the subject as practical men of affairs and who have had something to do with endeavoring to secure municipal betterment, and let it be their special business to ascertain, in the first place, whether a Munic-

ipal Program in America is feasible, and if they think it is feasible, let them bring it to us next year. Let the report be sent to us before the meeting, and let us discuss how we can get those things practically embodied. It seems to me, Mr. President, that there is something ridiculous in having this municipal government problem appear in forty or fifty different ways in forty or fifty different cities which embody, after all, substantially the same conditions, and if we could unite on some common plan of recommendation, enforced by experience and enforced by actual knowledge, I think we could elevate this National Municipal League up to a still higher plane of usefulness. For my part, I think, after five annual meetings and four or five volumes of reports from different cities, with the knowledge that has been contributed from a half dozen of the most notable books on this subject in the last five or six years, that we are now in a position where we can take that step forward, and I earnestly hope that this resolution will meet with favor; and especially I hope that there will be a free and general expression of the members here upon the merits or demerits of the idea contained in that resolution, so that we may know beforehand, in case the resolution is adopted or in case it fails of adoption, whether there is any concurrence of sentiment of this sort in the various cities throughout the country. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the resolution. The matter is now before you for discussion and for such action as you desire to take. Our attendance has been reduced somewhat in the last half hour, and it is a question as to whether we should act upon this matter now or defer it until a subsequent meeting.

MR. WOODRUFF: I rise to second the motion of Mr. Deming for the appointment of a committee such as he suggests in his resolution, although I differ somewhat with some of the statements he made in advocating it. I do not think that municipal conditions throughout this country are so uniform as he seems to believe, nor that any definite plan which might be devised by any body of men, no matter how wise, would fit all conditions. Our various municipalities have each their peculiar history, conditions, and environments. Each municipality differs from almost every other, and what might be a pronounced success in one place might be an absolute failure in another. What might be a success in Philadelphia might be a failure in Louisville. Nevertheless I think the time has come when some effort should be made towards getting together on a plan—a general plan which, with proper modifications, might be applied to American cities generally. Let us find the certain particulars upon which we all agree. For instance, I think we can all agree that there should be a centralization of power in the hands of the executive,

who should be clothed with adequate responsibility. This certainly has been the drift of the charters of the last three or four years. As I pointed out in my report, we are all agreed on civil service reform; we are united in the opinion that it should find a place in every frame of city government. We are all agreed that the city should receive some compensation and have some control over quasi-municipal monopolies like street railway, water, and gas companies.

There is another point which such a committee ought to take into consideration, if it should be appointed. I hold in my hand a letter from some active men in Pittsburg who, by reason of a change in the local situation there, are somewhat at sea. They have been detained there and are not able to get here, but they want to know which method will best succeed in securing a change in municipal conditions—which method of reform will produce the best results. I do not know whether the committee which Mr. Deming's resolution proposes would be competent to discuss that question or not; but I would suggest that the resolutions which Mr. Deming has introduced and the letter which I hold in my hand from Mr. Oliver McClintock be referred to a special committee of five, to report not later than Friday morning—preferably at ten o'clock Friday morning—and that that time be set apart for the discussion of Mr. Deming's resolution and the report of the special committee thereon.

MR. DEMING: I accept that.

MR. WOODRUFF: In that way we shall have the matter carefully considered and have a report which will give us a plan of action. I shall not read the letter of Mr. McClintock at this time unless desired. It presents the two points I have referred to.

MR. DEMING: What Mr. Woodruff has said illustrates to my mind with great emphasis the value of my resolution. There is scarcely a thing which Mr. Woodruff has said which I believe ought to be embodied in a general charter scheme. If Mr. Woodruff and others think that those things ought to be in a general charter scheme, then it is time that we had a Committee of Ten to compare notes and see what we do agree upon. My idea was to devise some general plan which we could all advocate, which would commit the city's affairs to the citizens of the city, and let them go to heaven or the other place, as they please, and not put into a city charter the most minute details of everything the city has to do. I do not believe we will go very far by reforming charters piecemeal. As was well said by several of the previous speakers, including the Secretary in his report, it is the citizen that needs to be educated. It is his apathy that needs to be overcome, and the most effective way to overcome this apathy is to make him work. We have in this country the most delightful

way of getting a law passed and then going away and saying, "Now, let the law do it all." We have too many laws in our city charter. City charters are altogether too complicated. We try to define and we get the most cumbersome body in the world to do the defining—the State Legislature. We try to define the petty details. Why, in our Greater New York charter they have page after page devoted to such things as piling up snow, and places where wagons shall stand, and what fines shall be imposed in case a drayman is detained in trying to unload. The Legislature of New York is doing that job for the citizens of New York, and of course the citizens of New York do not take much interest in the city; but if the Legislature of the State of New York would compel the citizens of New York to have good government or the other thing, we might have a rocky time, but we would get to the New Jerusalem over the rocks. (Applause). So that the idea embodied in my resolution is, let us see if municipal reformers throughout this country who have studied this subject of municipal reform and who have worked in reform movements can do a little constructive work. Let us have a banner that means something practical to fight under, and then let us give politicians a chance to fight us. The people will come to our rescue if we offer them something definite.

MR. HARTWELL: Before we get away from this question, I do not know of a better time to get a partial expression from the delegates than this afternoon. I agree heartily with what Mr. Deming has said. Up to this time I have felt that it would hardly be wise to attempt to define plans, because we were not in a position to do so, but having attended several Conferences and read a good many papers, articles, books and one thing or another on the subject, I find that there is a complete lack of unanimity as to suggestions. If you will take any place that is reforming its charter the chances are nine to one that they are embodying in that charter some particular thing that some other place is moving heaven and earth to get rid of. It seems to me the time is near at hand when this organization should be in a position to take some well-defined stand as to the essential requisites of good city government. This resolution does not commit our organization. It may be several years before that Committee will report back, and I think it will be a notable Conference when the Program for the proper conduct of a city is given to the world by the National Municipal League.

THE CHAIRMAN: If no further discussion is desired, the question before the house is the resolution of Mr. Deming, which it is moved and seconded shall be referred to a committee of five, with instructions to report not later than Friday, preferably Friday morning, at which time the

resolution will be open for action. In the event of the passage of the original resolution and the committee therein suggested appointed, the intention is that it shall report at the meeting one year hence.

MR. DEMING: I did not mean to require them to report earlier than next year. We might be able to report in two months, but it might take eighteen months.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not to report to the League, but to have authority to issue the report?

MR. DEMING: No, sir; but not to set a definite time when the Committee of Ten shall report. Next year, if they cannot agree, they could be relieved.

A vote being taken, the motion to refer to a special committee was carried:

THE CHAIRMAN: How shall that committee be appointed?

MR. MACVEAGH: By the Chair, I suppose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution provides that the Committee to whom this matter shall be referred ultimately should be appointed by the Executive Committee of the League. The committee of five to whom this resolution will be referred will now be appointed by the Chairman. I appoint Horace E. Deming and William B. Hornblower, of New York; Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia; and Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Cleveland.

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that the Chairman of this meeting be added to the committee.

The motion was put by the Secretary and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: This completes the regular business for this afternoon, and unless it is desired to bring something else before the meeting a motion to adjourn until eight o'clock this evening will be in order.

Upon motion, adjourned till eight P. M.

Wednesday, May 5, 1897, 8 P. M.

The League met pursuant to adjournment, and the Hon. George M. Davie, of Louisville, was introduced as the Chairman of the evening.

MR. DAVIE: It affords me much pleasure to be of what little assistance I can and to give all the countenance I can to this movement. It is customary on occasions like this to have something good to say of one's city, but in point of fact in this line Louisville is rather along with the rest of you. Mr. Bryce, the author of "The American Commonwealth," was traveling in this country some years ago, and he made the remark that it

was amazing to him that with all the intelligence, force of character and political sagacity of the American people, they had so long suffered their municipal government to remain the worst in the civilized world. It is an augury of something better to come when men of prominence and distinction meet together and bring to bear their intellect and energy upon improving the condition Mr. Bryce refers to. Whether there is something wrong at the foundation of our government which brings about this bad municipal government; whether the system of executive, judicial and legislative departments is all wrong; whether this deplorable condition of municipal affairs comes from the fact that the good men of a community will not give their time and attention to the smaller municipal offices and thereby let them go into the hands of those whose interest in the city is not deep nor unselfish; whether the people generally prefer a bad man to a good one for a city officer—I do not know. But certain it is that the men selected in municipal affairs as managers and controllers are not those who would be considered the best citizens of any community. The only way to improve that is to bring the public opinion and the intelligence of the American people to a focus on this point, and whenever the great good sense of the people is brought to a focus on any question it always goes right. You must have their attention brought to the fact not only that there is an evil, but that there is a remedy. I believe that in this organization is the starting of the force that is to solve this problem. I believe that the ball which you are starting rolling will gather force and weight until its momentum will be such that corruption cannot stop it, and that all over this broad land, if we do not have perfection in municipal affairs, we shall at least have what, compared with present conditions, might have that term applied to it.

The first speech of this evening will be by Franklin MacVeagh, Esq., of Chicago, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing to you.

MR. MACVEAGH: The Chairman, in referring to what I am about to do, has said that I was going to make a speech. I am not going to make a speech; I am simply going to read a paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: Everything in Kentucky is a speech.

MR. MACVEAGH: I shall be glad if my effort reaches the level of the Kentucky idea.

The Chairman has not announced the subject of my paper, because he does not know it. I do not know it myself. The Secretary announced it to me. It is "The Business Man in Municipal Politics." I have no doubt that the topic was given to me because I am a business man myself.

Mr. MacVeagh then read a paper on "The Business Man in Municipal Politics." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address of the evening will be by William B. Hornblower, Esq., of New York City, whom I have the pleasure to present.

Mr. Hornblower then delivered an address. (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address will be on "The Legislature in City and State, 1797-1897," by Horace E. Deming, Esq., of New York City.

MR. DEMING: I have been told that in Kentucky, if you make a political speech, the audience will wait until you are through. I want you to imagine that I am making a political speech. I do not feel that that is making really too great a demand on the courtesy of the residents of Louisville, but although I have been here but a very short time I have yet to find that any one could make too great a demand on their courtesy.

But, Mr. President, I am in a somewhat awkward predicament, out of which I ask you to help me; no one else can. You know this National Municipal League has an annual meeting, and the delegates come, and a certain number of them are asked to prepare essays on subjects relevant to the municipal problem which we are all studying, and we prepare those essays and we expect to read them to a small and, we hope, a critical audience, but still rather a kindly one, because everyone knows that perhaps he may read an essay the next time. Now, I find myself somewhat unexpectedly with an essay—and I am not in the habit of preparing essays—with an essay prepared to read to such an audience. Now, be good enough, ladies and gentlemen, to imagine that you are that audience, and submit to the essay. It will not be as much of an affliction to you as to me. You heard this afternoon from our Secretary, who gave us a most admirable sketch of the progress and to a certain extent of the retrogression in municipal government during the past year, how this, that and the other, in fact every city, was going to the Legislature for something. Now, my topic to-night is intended, so far as it may, to point out to you what the history of the legislation in our State and city has been during the last one hundred years—and especially of the city about which I know something—the State of New York and the city of New York. And before beginning my paper as such, will you pardon me the freedom of saying just a word by way of introduction to it. To those of you who have looked into the history and the art of government it will not be new; but it will be relevant to my subject to remind you that our forefathers, those savages that used to live in the north of Europe, those Barbarians, as they were called, have contributed to the art of government the most valuable idea—I mean free idea—that has thus far ever been contributed by any nation or any people. The Greeks had a pure democracy, and

their government was a lot of unruly communities and went to pieces. The Romans contributed the idea of respect for law and good order. That was an oligarchical kind of government at bottom, and it went to pieces. Our ancestors contributed the representative idea. It is from our own ancestors that we trace the history of representative democracy. What does that mean? It means that the people of a given locality delegate to a smaller number, the committee, the power and the right to do the deliberating for the whole community and the deciding of questions of policy for the whole community, that deliberating body being responsible back again to the people, who created them, for the exercise of their delegated authority. That is a representative democracy. Now, I propose in this paper to trace briefly the history in this country for a hundred years the practical strife of daily life of that representative democratic idea and to ask where we are to-day with reference to that idea, and, if you will bear with me, I shall endeavor to point out in a measure some of the causes of our being in that situation to-day, some of the lines along which it is perfectly practical, entirely practicable for each one of us to work to correct such faults as at present exist.

Here Mr. Deming read a paper on "The Legislature in City and State, 1797-1897." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next session of the League will be held to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, to which time, there being no further business before it, the League stands adjourned.

Thursday, May 6, 1897, 10 A. M.

The meeting was called together by Chairman Ochs and the opening paper announced to be one on "The Powers of Municipal Corporations," by Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University.

Prof. Goodnow then read a paper on "The Powers of Municipal Corporations." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be read by Frank M. Loomis, Esq., of Buffalo, on "The Exclusion of Partisan Politics from Municipal Affairs—the Democratic-European Method."

Mr. Loomis then read a paper on "The Exclusion of Partisan Politics from Municipal Affairs—the Democratic-European Method." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper is one prepared by Prof. Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, on "American Political Ideas and Institutions in their Relation to the Conditions of City Life." It will be read by Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Cleveland, O.

Prof. Bourne then read Dr. Rowe's paper on "American Political Ideas and Institutions in their Relation to the Conditions of City Life." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: This concludes the formal program for the morning. It has been so arranged that we may devote the remainder of the morning session to discussing the papers heretofore presented, and it is suggested that the discussion be limited to five minutes for each speaker.

MR. WOODRUFF: I think there is a reluctance to discuss these papers, not because of the absence of any ideas on the subjects presented, but because of the multiplicity of points suggested. I have been impressed, in listening to their reading, with the fact that this question of municipal government is a much more extensive one than most of us realize. It touches us at more points and more frequently and in more ways than perhaps any other single public question. When you come to consider the subject of municipal government and its relations to the individual, I think you will agree with me that it touches us at more points than either the national or State government, and yet I think by reason of a perverted perspective we have given a great deal more attention, time and consideration to questions of State and national affairs. We all know that a national or State election will bring out a great many more voters than a city election.

The question which Mr. Loomis brought out in his very excellent paper, that of the evils attendant upon the caucus, is one which we must all carefully consider. Unfortunately for most of us, we do not come frequently enough into direct actual contact with the workings of the caucus, and, therefore, we do not realize its effect as fully as we might otherwise. However, from afar we see that certain disastrous results flow from it, but we do not always realize how detrimental the results are. On Monday I was traveling from Philadelphia to Harrisburg in company with a Senator from one of our Pennsylvania counties and was talking to him about the fact that he had been elected on an anti-Cameron platform. He said, "No, I was elected on the Republican platform; I had my views, however, about Senator Cameron." I said, "You are living in a Cameron county, I believe." He said, "Yes, but that district is always for the party nominee. We may fight over who shall be the nominee, but when the nominee is once chosen we are all for the nominee." He told me that never in his experience had they bolted a ticket. Now when you have a state of facts like that, where the contest is over the nomination and not at the polls for the election, you have a very backward state of affairs. The idea of a primary is one that appeals to me very strongly in theory. Those who are Republicans come together to express their wishes as to

who their candidate shall be, and so the Democrats. The difficulty with us in Philadelphia, and I presume elsewhere, is that while our theory is good our practice is bad, for the men won't come out and participate in these preliminary meetings. They have social and business engagements or some personal arrangement which they claim prevents them. If the voters would come out in as great numbers and vote as in the particular township where I spend my summers, we would have much better results. I go to the primaries near my summer home, not to vote but to see how they are carried on. Last summer they had one hundred and sixty votes at the primary out of one hundred and eighty possible Republican votes. Where you can have such a large participation as in that case, you get what, seems to me, to be almost an ideal system of expressing the sense of the party, were it not for one serious objection or difficulty. The tendency of the primary and the ideas fostered and suggested by it are to make the party an end, rather than the means to an end. This was brought out clearly the other day in the Pennsylvania Legislature in the debate on certain proposed amendments to the ballot law. They were opposed and resisted because Republican party leaders maintained that the present law promoted Republican success, as if that were the one thing above all others to be sought for. The reply I made was that if the Republican party could only maintain its supremacy in Pennsylvania by the operation of a ballot law, it would soon sink out of power. But their attitude was easily explained. They had been accustomed all their political lives to abide by the results of party primaries and caucuses and they had come to believe as a matter of course that the party and its success were the ends to be sought for. The idea that a party was a means to an end—only an instrument to put into force and effect certain governmental principles for the welfare of the State—was new to them. So long as the primaries continue to promote and conserve such erroneous ideas they are to be deprecated and discouraged; but I thoroughly believe that they can be made materially to assist in the cause of good government if conducted on the right lines.

PROF. GOODNOW: I was extremely interested in Mr. Loomis's paper; and, I believe, almost without exception the suggestions he made would be of the greatest value; but I suppose that all of us who have made a particular study of municipal reform have our own peculiar methods and ideas for reforming the present condition of things. I am perhaps biased with my own ideas upon the necessity of concrete reform. I am inclined to think that the adoption of all the suggestions made in Mr. Loomis's paper would be insufficient to obtain good popular government in the city. There was one objection that Mr. Loomis called attention to against

this system of nomination by certificate, and that is the likelihood of frivolous nominations, and his answer was that they did not have them in England.

MR. LOOMIS : I did not make that statement.

PROF. GOODNOW : You said that was a danger, which I think is correct, and that the experience of England has shown that it was not a valid one.

MR. LOOMIS : What I said, Professor, was that the one danger to be anticipated was the undue multiplicity of nominees and that was guarded against because there was only one candidate to be voted for, no difference how many names there might be.

PROF. GOODNOW : There is something more in England that prevents frivolous nominations. Every candidate has to pay his proportion of the expenses. There is also another thing that is apropos right here, and that is that in the English cities, while there are fewer candidates for offices, there are more offices filled in England by election than we have here. We are apt to think that the council does everything, but you will find that the English city has nothing whatever to do with the management of the schools, but in each school district there is a school board elected by the people. The English city has nothing to do with the distribution of charity, but in each district, which sometimes is a whole city, they have a charity board to attend to this matter, and so it is with a number of matters which in this country are handled directly by the city. Altogether there is quite a lot of officers to be elected over there. Then further, the system of nomination by certificate was not introduced in England until 1872, and English municipal government had attained its present importance and beneficent character long before 1872. The one great thing that has transformed England has been the abolition of legislative interference and the subjection of different localities and different offices throughout the country to responsible non-political administrative control.

MR. HORNBLOWER : I do not know that I clearly understood some parts of Mr. Loomis's paper, because from where I sat I could not hear very well, but if I understood him correctly his theory is that we ought not to elect our mayor at all, but should elect members of the council, and they should elect the mayor and other administrative officers. Am I correct in that, Mr. Loomis?

MR. LOOMIS : I stated that that was the system in England and in foreign countries.

MR. HORNBLOWER : I was somewhat startled by that proposition as applied to our American citizens. I am not even now very clear as to whether that is your view, but it certainly would in my judgment work dis-

astrously in great cities like New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago, although it might work well enough in smaller communities. The difficulty we have to contend with in a great city is that we do not know each other personally. There are not a dozen men in the city of New York who are known by sight to more than a thousand of their fellow-citizens, and they happen to be men whose pictures are published in the newspapers or men who make public addresses. But outside of a few men who are prominent in political or professional life, and are thus well known, the great body of our men are not known to their fellow-citizens by sight or even by name. Men who are worth their millions; men who are leaders in their various trades, professions and callings, are many of them unknown to their fellow-citizens even by name. Nor is that the worst of it. We do not even know our neighbors. Not only do we not know them by sight, but we do not know their names, do not know who they are. I bought my present residence about eight years ago. It is in one of the localities of the city where there would be supposed to be some acquaintance among families, and yet, beyond my next-door neighbors on each side I am not acquainted with any others in the block. I do not know the name of the man who lives two doors from me and has been there the whole time I have been there. That is one of the difficulties that we would have in New York in this matter of a primary. We have tried to localize the primary, tried to cut it down to as small a compass as possible so that the men may know each other when they go into the primary, but we cannot get the community small enough so that the men voting in the precinct can know each other by sight, and the result is when it is announced that Mr. John Robinson is a candidate for this, that, or the other office very few people know whether he is a better man than John Jones, against whom he is running.

MR. LOOMIS: You have to smell them out.

MR. HORNBLOWER: The way we find them out is through the Good Government Clubs, who investigate nominations and let us know about them, so that we can judge of the different candidates. We have endeavored in New York to get good councilmen and a good board of aldermen. We have tried every way known to us and we have never succeeded. We have tried a large body and a small body, large districts and small districts. We simply cannot get a good body of aldermen to manage our affairs. Now the only way to obviate that difficulty seems to be to focalize our attention on a single candidate for the principal municipal office and to clothe him with tremendous responsibilities. We have at last succeeded in that, although at great risk, for it is by no means an ideal system. It is a very dangerous system, but it is a choice of evils, and by that system we have succeeded to some extent in getting a fairly good system of mu-

nicipal government. I would regard it as very dangerous to go back to the old way of electing a council and clothing it with the power of electing the mayor.

REV. HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., of Kansas City : While this matter of the primary is under discussion, I wish to say that we believe in Kansas City we have made some strides toward the solution of this question. I hold in my hand a paper by L. A. Laughlin which gives the form of our present administration of the primaries. It will not take me five minutes to read this paper, and I think the reading will be beneficial. The plan has resulted most favorably. The paper is as follows :

“ Glaring frauds were originally perpetrated in the most shameless manner. Public sentiment demanded a change, and a charter amendment providing for the holding of primary elections was adopted by an overwhelming majority. A State law has since supplanted the charter amendment. The party which is now in control of the city government has adopted the custom of allowing its members to vote directly for the nominations of all city officers from mayor down through the list. The writer believes that Kansas City is the only large city in the United States where any registered voter affiliated with that political party can vote directly for the candidates of his choice for nominations. A brief account of the manner in which these primaries are held may be instructive. All political parties casting one-fourth of the total vote at the preceding election must hold their primaries under the law. The managing committee of the party notifies the election commissioners of the time they intend to hold a primary, and what candidates are to be nominated by a direct vote, and what by a delegate convention, and the apportionment of delegates. The election commissioners call the primary, select the polling places, also the judges and clerks of election from names proposed by the delegations. Each candidate to be voted for directly deposits ten dollars for each ward, and each list of delegates fifty dollars a ward. This money is used to defray the expenses of the primary elections. Any voter can propose a candidate and twenty voters a list of delegates from a ward. The election commissioners furnish the ballots. All names are printed on one ballot, giving the title of the office first, and under it the names of all candidates proposed for that office. The voter marks the ballot by erasing all names but those he wishes to vote for. The polls are open from 1 P. M. to 8 P. M. Any registered voter can vote, and if, when challenged, he makes oath he is affiliated with the party, he must be allowed to vote. His name is marked as voted on the registration books and he cannot vote at another primary preceding the election following. Returns of the votes cast are made to the election commissioners, who make statements of the same and

send to the convention of delegates, which convention declares the results. Candidates voted for directly receiving a majority of the votes cast are declared nominated. If no candidate receives a majority, the nomination is made by the convention.

"The result of this plan of voting directly for candidates has been the formation of numerous political clubs in every ward. The candidates for the nominations go from ward to ward addressing these clubs, and thus become acquainted with the members of their party. The merits or demerits of the various candidates are fully canvassed before the primary is held and much more dispassionately than at the regular election, when party feeling is aroused. As an evidence of the interest taken in these primaries as high as sixty per cent. of the voters of the political party whose members vote directly for candidates, have participated in its primaries. This is double and treble the usual percentage elsewhere. The same plan was used in our sister city across the State line, Kansas City, Kansas, at their recent municipal election, with good results.

"Whether there can be an alignment of parties in our large American cities upon other than national issues is a mooted question. But that there will be parties does not admit of much doubt, as they are inseparable from a republican form of government. It is equally true that no party, upon whatever issues formed, can remain long in power. without its nominations are dictated by those in control of the party machinery, unless those nominations are made by a mode in which its humblest member has an equal voice with its most adroit politician. We flatter ourselves that we have accomplished this result in the manner in which our primaries are held and so have taken an advance step in the cause of municipal reform."

HON. P. W. MELDRIM, of Savannah, Ga. : I only rise for the purpose of saying that, with the rest of you, I have derived a great deal of pleasure from the paper of Mr. Loomis. But, if I understood the distinctive idea of that paper, it was this : If we can succeed in eliminating from municipal politics partisan rule, then we have accomplished a result for which we seek, and that, as a lion in the path stood the caucus system. I, unfortunately, am a politician who has never had any experience in practical politics until very recently, when I made a fight on these very lines. With the utmost respect for the papers which we have heard, they seem to me to deal very largely with theory rather than with actual facts as we meet them in the cities of the country. It does not appear to my mind that getting rid of a mere caucus accomplishes the desired result. A caucus may produce good results or it may produce bad results. A political party can only act through its representatives. The body of the citizens

can only act through their representatives. They are selected under party machinery or a coming together on their own volition. Whenever two or more men come together for the purpose of determining upon anything it is a caucus, and you might just as well recognize this fact right now. When you make war upon the spoilsmen with all their munitions at their command, thoroughly officered, experienced and determined, you have only one way to win the fight, and that is you have to organize fully as well, you have to have your men and money, and you have to raise your standard, and it should be a standard of purity and of right, and you have to raise it just as high as the standard of the spoilsmen. You have to crown every eminence in your line by batteries as strong as those of your adversaries, and shot for shot must be given. You have to marshal your strong battalions of infantry and put on their flank your cavalry. This is war, and if you just go at it in a theoretical way you cannot win the battle. The trouble is the citizen is too apt in the rush of his own business to remember his duties only on election day. The banker should put aside his business for the hour and meet the people face to face, tell them who is the better man on the ticket and help him to win. The business men should come more in contact with the laboring men. Meet them face to face. If I were going into a fight I would rather have neo hundred broad-shouldered laboring men than five hundred millionaires. I do not mean to trespass on your time, but I could not resist the temptation, when I heard so much of theory, to say a little something practical.

MR. DEMING : At the risk of trespassing on the very brief time permitted, I must begin by saying that I am a practical reformer ; that I have attended primaries ; that I have with others met the practical difficulty and have tried organization. Sometimes we have succeeded and sometimes failed. I say that simply in order that what I may contribute to this subject may not be supposed to come from a doctrinaire.

Early in the work of municipal reform we discovered two obstacles in the way, and they are permanently in the way. One obstacle was the nomination and the other was the Legislature. Those were the two troubles that beset us. Arriving at a correct theory in regard to anything is never amiss. Therefore, it seems to me, Mr. President, with due deference to the practical politicians who are here present, it is a very important thing for us to try to find out the causes of these various difficulties, not merely the result of the causes. Mr. Loomis's criticism as to the primaries I do not propose to treat as being intended by him to be final, but he has contributed to this meeting a root idea, and that is that if you want to find the source of political power one of those sources is the con-

trol by the professional politician over the nominations and the nominating machinery. Now, whether we can reform the primaries in Savannah by attending, or in Philadelphia by attending, I do not know.

MR. MELDRIM: We reform them in Savannah by smashing them when they don't do right.

MR. DEMING: I have nothing to say further than this, that the spot where you must begin your work is at the nominating end, and if we can devise a method which takes away from the professional politician that power, that is one of the things which is most desirable. Now, if my five minutes permitted me, I should like to tell you our New York experience in attempting to take this power away from the politicians and how they regot it from the Legislature. We began in New York about 1887 an agitation for ballot reform, or for the Australian ballot, as it is called. That consists of two parts. One is the secret ballot, and the other by means of a printed official ballot putting every candidate for the same office on a level before the people on the same ballot at the same time. We worked for several years, and there came a rising tide of popular opinion back of that idea, until there was a petition filed with the Legislature that it took eight men to carry into the Legislature. Then the Legislature yielded, and we got a ballot system, a very poor one, because the Legislature did not go as far as they ought, but in that ballot law there was a substantial advance towards freedom of nomination. Now what happened? At every single session of the Legislature the ballot reformer had to go there on account of bills introduced into the Legislature slicing off a little here and a little there until they finally sliced it all off, and now our ballot reform law in New York invests the local municipal nominations in the political parties.

The Chairman called Mr. Loomis to the chair for a few moments.

MR. OCHS: I am like the Mayor of Savannah. My experience has been of a practical character. I have occupied the position of mayor of my city going on four years. I have been very much interested in the proceedings of the National Municipal League, and have been intensely interested in all the papers I have heard here and at previous meetings. I know I have derived a good deal of valuable information from the discussion of these questions, which, as our Secretary previously said, are coming home to the people more than any other question that at present concerns us. But my experience and observation has been, as I had the honor of stating at this assembly two years ago, that reform in municipal government is not so much a question of method as it is a question of morals. You cannot construct a charter that will give honest government. You cannot devise a system of government that will give you honest offi-

cials. That is absolutely impossible. I hope the assembly will pardon me for mentioning my own local experience, but that is all I know about personally. In our city of Chattanooga we have the worst charter in the United States. It has been a plaything in the Legislature for the politicians for the last twenty years, until it contains every evil that a municipal charter can have. It is a patchwork of ten different Legislative assemblies, and every ward politician, almost, in the State has gone to Nashville and has had some hand in constructing that charter to suit his own peculiar methods. Finally things were so bad that we made an effort at the last session of the Legislature to have some of the worst features of it eliminated, and we ignominiously failed; but the community determined that they were going to smash that machine, and they nominated a ticket of the same political party that had been in power and under the same charter and under the same laws that had hung like a pall over the city in the past. They put in men who had the courage and honesty to carry out reform, and, as I said before, it was purely a matter of personal integrity and character that did it, and as a result the expenses of that city were reduced from about \$400,000 a year to \$250,000 a year, where they have been maintained for the last two or three years without changing a line in the charter, but simply by adopting business methods in the administration of municipal government. I do not think that any man elected to the position of mayor or councilman, if he is honest, if he is courageous, and has business qualifications to justify him in administering the affairs of his own business or of any corporation or bank or library or any other institution where all the people are the stockholders, deserves any credit for doing his honest duty and bringing things down to a business basis. But I do hope that out of these Conferences there will be evolved some one central formula upon which we can construct the future municipal charters. We must have a new charter in our city and in nearly every city in my State. We must also have a new State constitution. Our model will be the constitution of Kentucky or of New York, but after we get that model we must have charters, and unless the honest people put their hands to it, those charters will be no better than the ones we have now.

MR. JOHN A. BUTLER, of Milwaukee: I have been listening with the greatest interest to the references that have been made to the government of English cities from a democratic point of view. I wish simply to say with reference to the city of Milwaukee, that some years ago, through the efforts of the late Mr. John Fairchild, we were led to somewhat positive convictions with regard to certain lines of politics, and we are now in the midst of the experiment growing out of those. For that reason I am more interested in what is going on here now than some of you. Mr. John

Fairchild came to one of our Municipal League dinners, and he said, "I have lived in the city of Liverpool for ten or fifteen years. There is not a dollar, there is not a quarter of a dollar, there is not a penny wasted or stolen in the whole city of Liverpool in its municipal administration, and the reason of that is because there is no patronage. The only scrap of patronage in the city of Liverpool is in the hands of the mayor, who can appoint the janitor of the City Hall!" Now, in the city of Milwaukee they have had a little experience, and we may perhaps be permitted to boast somewhat of it. We have tamed the Common Council and have tamed the political rings. We did it by taking away their patronage. We have had a long battle with the city government of Milwaukee. And as long as we demanded things that were not practical we did not make any headway. When we began to take away their patronage they began to see that reform was really on, and it was not long before we completely wiped them out. The point is, there is no way for a corrupt man to get into office unless he can offer something to somebody to help him get there. In Milwaukee we had a school board of forty-two members, and a man who was successful in the common council gave a position in the school board to the man whom he had beaten at the polls. That brought about a pretty bad state of affairs, and then the school board was taken out of politics, and then the last vestige they had—the fire and police departments—has been put on a civil service basis. That takes the whole thing away, and without any patronage at all the council cannot get anything.

THE CHAIRMAN : I think Mr. Loomis should be entitled to a rejoinder, as the remarks were chiefly to his paper, and unless there is objection I will recognize him.

MR. LOOMIS : I cannot but feel complimented by the undivided attention you have given to the suggestions I have made in my paper. I should say at the outstart that my position was correctly stated by the gentleman from Savannah, that I regarded partisanship as the lion in the pathway ; but the fundamental principle for which I contend here is that we should have free nominations, that the people should nominate as well as elect, and that to that end the number of elective offices must be reduced. You cannot work the democratic system except the attention of the people is narrowed down to one issue, or to one man, or to two or three men. Now, as to the abolition of the caucus system and the substitution of the free nominating system, it does not necessarily imply the abolition of the office of mayor. It may be worked with the pure federal system, the election of the mayor and of the legislative body, but the fundamental principle is, we should have a system of free nominations, and that could be best had by reducing the number of officers to be elected. I am

asked do I advocate the abolition of the mayor ; yes, in a sense, but not as an immediate necessity. It was said, and the remark was applauded with considerable vigor, that it would be impracticable in large cities like New York and Chicago to work with a council without having a mayor. Gentlemen, if that is so, how is it in greater London ; how is it in Berlin ; how is it in Paris ; how is it in Buda-Pesth, Hungary ? Are we to believe that the American people have less of political probity than our foreign neighbors ? I for one do not believe it. I am here to contend that we have as much civic pride as anywhere in the world, but that the great obstacle, the lion in the path, is that the people are not given the right to nominate as well as to elect. We have no true democracy. Now, if I may refer to the gentleman from New York, he speaks of the difficulty of electing suitable members to councils. Now, that is a very simple proposition. Anyone can see what is the matter ; it is simply that you go there and have the choice between two candidates, neither of whom is a fit person. But there is no use of making independent nominations and trying to elect an independent nominee, so long as the mass of the citizens are divided on party lines. That being the case, they will vote one way or the other, and the independent voter is simply the balance of power, that is all. Now, if you have a free nominating system, which means that each man must run on his merit, he has no backing.

Reference was made to frivolous nominations. If you have an official ballot on which candidates are arranged simply for one office, it does not make any difference how many names are put there. Of course, under our present systems, where you vote for Tom, Dick and Harry for many offices, there may be undue multiplicity of candidates. The thing about it is this, that when the people sign they have to run on their merit ; there won't be so many frivolous nominations ; people don't care to run for an office just for the fun of running. The result will be, and experience proves it better than anything else—experience proves it wherever it is tried, that where a man is elected as a councilman and gives satisfactory service, that they don't put any nominees against him, because it is not worth while. We don't realize what it means for men to run on merit and hold places on merit, and not because of party affiliations. The Mayor of Savannah said that what we want is organization. I grant that, but why should that be on partisan political lines in municipal matters. There is the question. As long as it is conducted on partisan lines it will not be conducted successfully.

MR. BUTLER : Do you propose to make the caucus an illegal combination, frowned at by the law ?

MR. LOOMIS : I have not said anything of that kind, but I would like

to see it done in municipal matters. I have confined my paper to municipal matters, and have not gone beyond that.

MR. KNOTT : I only want to say that I have not had the pleasure of hearing the paper of Mr. Loomis, but coming to the hall I met a citizen of Louisville who said he had been here and had just heard a very interesting paper. I asked him what the subject of it was and he said it was on the elimination of partisan politics from municipal affairs. I asked him if he was aware that there had not been until 1893 a political canvass in Louisville on partisan lines, and he said no. Not until 1896 did the Republican party have a ticket on partisan lines in this city. We had in Louisville a non-partisan government. We had men offering for office who had an organization of their personal friends, and had an organization in the different wards of the city, but never until that time did we have regular partisan elections on party lines, and the result has been just about what the result has been in the Northern cities, where for generations they have had party nominations and party organization and party triumphs. When we got our new constitution everyone supposed that that would be an end of special legislation, yet we have had just about as much special legislation since the new constitution as before. We also had embodied in the constitution a reform bill, and I think, on the whole, it is a successful reform, but it is not all that we could have. We had party nominations last year for the State, municipal and national offices, and we had an emblem, and grouped under that the nominees of each party, and but for that fact the State of Kentucky last year would have gone for Bryan. The vote of Kentucky was carried by the ignorant vote, and it would have been impossible for many of the intelligent citizens to go there and select men according to their knowledge. I refer to these facts to show that a method that will be of value in one section will be fruitless in another. Municipal reform must be something that is needed at the place at that time.

I think one of the main mistakes that we make—in fact, I think it is by far the greatest mistake—is that we have the idea that the city government can do everything. We must reform ourselves in that respect. The progress of government is not towards socialism. It is in a manner to rid the city of responsibility for things it cannot do. We recognize this, and yet go on, year after year, demanding that this failure must undertake to do more than ever before. Let us rid ourselves of this idea, let us have as little government as possible, and we will have as little corruption. But wherever you have government, you will have some corruption.

The League adjourned to meet at 2.30 in the afternoon.

Thursday, May 6, 1897, 2.30 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Ochs, who requested Mr. Loomis to act as chairman for the afternoon.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to be a little uncertain as to whether every one is present who had a paper to read this afternoon. The first paper on the list is one regarding "The Municipal Condition of New Haven, Connecticut," by Mr. George L. Fox, which, as Mr. Fox is not present, will be received and published as part of the proceedings. (See *Appendix*).

The next paper is in regard to "The Municipal Condition of Kansas City, Missouri," by Rev. Henry Hopkins, D. D., of Kansas City.

Dr. Hopkins then read a paper on "The Municipal Condition of Kansas City." (See *Appendix*).

DR. HOPKINS: I should like the following, by C. S. Palmer, to be inserted as a part of my remarks as bearing on the subject:

Missouri is the pioneer in one very interesting experiment in municipal government. In the Constitutional Convention of 1875 a committee of the citizens of St. Louis desired that provision might be made to entirely separate the city from St. Louis county, and also to give the people of the city a chance to make its own charter without the aid or interference of the State Legislature. The members of the Constitutional Convention decided to submit such a provision to the voters of the State. Some of the St. Louis delegates then feared that the people would defeat a provision which in its terms could only apply to one city. For the purpose of getting votes for the provision relating to St. Louis, a general provision was added, of which any city might take advantage when it attained a population of one hundred thousand.

Kansas City at that time had a population of less than fifty thousand; ten years later it had a population of one hundred thousand, and in 1889 it adopted its present charter by the vote of its people. The provision of the constitution giving this right of self-government is contained in Sections 16 and 17 of Article IX of the Constitution of Missouri. Section 16 reads substantially as follows:

"Any city having a population of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants may frame a charter for its own government, consistent with and subject to the constitution and laws of this State, by causing a board of thirteen freeholders, who shall have been for at least five years qualified voters thereof, to be elected by the qualified voters of such city at any general or special election; which board shall, within ninety days after such election, return to the chief magistrate of such city a draft of such charter, signed by the members of such board, or a majority of them. Within thirty days thereafter, such proposed charter shall be submitted

to the qualified voters of such city, at a general or special election, and if four-sevenths of such qualified voters voting thereat shall ratify the same, it shall, at the end of thirty days thereafter, become the charter of such city and supersede any existing charter or amendments thereof. * * * Such charter so adopted may be amended by a proposal therefor, made by the law-making authorities of such city, published for at least thirty days in three newspapers of largest circulation in such city, one of which shall be a newspaper printed in the German language, and accepted by three-fifths of the qualified voters of such city, voting at a general or special election, and not otherwise ; but such charter shall always be in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of the State.'

Section 17, Article IX of the constitution provides that it shall be a feature of all such charters that they shall provide among other things for a mayor, or chief magistrate, and two houses of legislation, one of which, at least, shall be elected on a general ticket. It also provides in the submission of a charter or amendment that alternative sections may be submitted upon any one provision.

These two sections make what Beach in his "Public Corporations" calls a "remarkable provision." For many years it was the opinion of the Bar, supported by *dicta*, at least, of the courts, that the State Legislature still had authority to amend such charter by enacting general laws which would be effective even as to merely local affairs. In *Kansas City ex rel., vs. Scarritt et al.*, 127 Mo., 642, the Supreme Court of the State declared that the provision in the section of the constitution above cited, which provided for an amendment of the charter by a vote of the people "and not otherwise," meant exactly what it said.

"When the constitution declares how such amendments may be made, and that they shall not be otherwise made, it certainly does not mean that the Legislature may adopt a different mode for such amendment by direct legislation operating only upon such charters."

The court restricts the effect of its decision to "those matters which are merely municipal affairs."

The constitution of Missouri, as above interpreted, did what no other American constitution ever did, so far as known, create an *imperium in imperio* paramount within certain limits to the general legislative power of the State.

California in 1879 partly followed our example. In the constitution adopted that year, it was provided that cities of more than one hundred thousand might form their own charter by a board of fifteen freeholders, the charter so framed to be adopted by a vote of the people. In California, however, the charter does not become operative until it is rati-

fied by the Legislature. Amendments are made in the same way, but there seems to be no provision preventing amendments directly by the Legislature. This provision of the constitution was amended in 1887, so as to apply to cities of more than ten thousand.

When Washington was admitted to the Union the constitution contained a provision almost identical with our own, allowing all cities of more than twenty thousand to form their own charters. This constitution may be amended in a manner similar to our own. There is no provision prohibiting amendments by the Legislature, and a recent writer on city government assumes that the Legislature may amend the charter. In Washington every city of sufficient population has availed itself of the provision of the constitution, and Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane are to-day living under home-made charters.

In reference to St. Louis the constitution provides that: "Notwithstanding the provisions of this article, the General Assembly shall have the same power over the city and county of St. Louis that it has over other cities and counties of this State."

Kansas City is thus one of only five cities which has the power to make and amend its own charter without the aid of the Legislature.

The Legislature of Washington can amend the home-made charters of its cities, and the Supreme Court of Missouri shall give effect to the provision of the St. Louis charter, just cited. Kansas City is the only city in the country to-day whose charter can be amended by the vote of the people and not otherwise.

The people of this city can, therefore, determine not only who shall administer its affairs, but what its law shall be, subject to the constitution. This fact should tend to make our people alive to the importance of an intelligent and efficient conduct of public affairs. There are some evidences that there is already such a result.

The total vote on charter amendments of 1892 was 8,630.

The total vote on charter amendments in 1895 was 12,074 ; the vote of the last city election was 22,207.

This shows on the part of the people a growing interest in the question of what our law shall be. It is a sign of an active public sentiment when the vote on questions as to what the law shall be is about sixty per cent. of the vote on the election of public officers who distribute municipal patronage. This power to make and amend our own laws might be used unwisely and to our great annoyance and injury. If the time should ever come that a strong majority of our people should believe that morality and prosperity could be brought about by amending the charter, we might be adopting every new fad on the one hand and every exploded

theory on the other, but our experience does not cause anxiety on this account. Of one thing we may be sure—what the people want they can have. When a desirable change has conquered public opinion the way is open to crystallize it into the organic law of the city.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we can all agree with Dr. Hopkins that Kansas City furnishes us an object lesson of great interest. I was especially interested in what he had to say about the success of the home rule movement, and I feel almost inclined to suggest that his statement should be referred to Prof. Goodnow for careful consideration.

The next paper on the program will not be read, but printed in its regular order—namely, the paper on "The Municipal Condition of Charleston, South Carolina," by ex-Mayor John F. Ficken. (See *Appendix*).

The next paper is on "The Municipal Affairs of San Francisco," by J. Richard Freud, Esq., which will be read by Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee.

Mr. Butler then read Mr. Freud's paper on "The Municipal Affairs of San Francisco." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be upon "Municipal Reforms in Rochester, New York," by Mr. Joseph T. Alling, President of the Rochester Good Government Club.

MR. ALLING: As president of the Good Government Club I suppose I would be considered a reformer, and as a reformer I know I should be dubbed a theorist, and therefore to-day in what I have to present I advance no theories whatever, and simply present a statement of the reforms that we have succeeded in inaugurating in Rochester and how we got them and of the things we are still after.

Mr. Alling then read his paper on "Municipal Reforms in Rochester, New York." (See *Appendix*).

MR. ALLING: In Dr. Hopkins's paper something was said that was eminently true, and that is that a positive program was necessary as well as a negative one. Mere criticism will not do the work. The Good Government Club in Rochester has definitely pushed for certain things, some of which it has gotten and some of which it has not yet obtained. Most of the things that we have secured were because we had a club in our hands that the politicians were afraid of. We have insisted that the civil service law should be administered, and the spoils system, with all its objectionable features, is about eliminated from Rochester politics. To a great extent this has been accomplished by our earnest fight for civil service reform.

One of the curious things that has come under my observation in regard to this matter is the absolute innocence of some of the spoils people

who are holding office. In a certain portion of my State there is an office which has no salary attached to it, but its occupant had held it for a long while. The Good Government Club started a movement against him and he came to it and said: "I think you ought to let me have that office. You know I need the money. It ain't worth but about five hundred dollars a year, but that is that much to me." It is hardly necessary to state that we did not accept him as a candidate for the office, although he was sincere in making that statement, not thinking that it reflected on him at all.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next and last paper will be one on "The Present Condition of Ohio Cities," by Alfred C. Cassatt, Esq., of Cincinnati.

MR. CASSATT: The significant feature in the municipal situation in Ohio does not lie in the mechanism of the city government that has been in use there during the recent year. The significant feature lies rather in the relation between the voters and the municipal mechanism; so that what I have to say about the form of government in use will be very brief, and the main feature of the paper will be as to the relation between the people of the State and the form of government that we have.

Mr. Cassatt then read his paper on "The Present Condition of Ohio Cities." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: This concludes the formal papers for the day.

The meeting then adjourned until 9.30 A. M. Friday.

Friday, May 7, 1897, 9.30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Ochs.

THE CHAIRMAN: The session this morning will be opened with a paper by Mr. George Burnham, Jr., on "The Municipal Affairs of Philadelphia." I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Burnham, our Treasurer.

MR. BURNHAM: After the report we have had of the wonderful achievements of cities like Milwaukee and Rochester I feel somewhat abashed at the small showing in the way of actual achievements that I have to report from my own native city. In a certain New England village, some time since, a fire occurred. Of course the town was torn up with excitement, and as the village idlers gathered around the store to discuss the matter one of them tried to put in a claim that he had discovered the fire. It was soon brought out, however, that the alarm had really been given by a woman. "Well," said he, "I was the first man who 'hollered' fire!" and in view of the fact that the first of these confer-

ences was held in my city I am afraid that the only claim we can make is that Philadelphia was the first who 'hollered' fire."

Mr. Burnham then read his paper on "The Municipal Affairs of Philadelphia." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper, on "Municipal Affairs in New Orleans," is by the Hon. Charles Janvier, president of the Citizens' League.

Mr. Janvier then read his paper on "Municipal Affairs in New Orleans." (See *Appendix*).

MR. DEMING: You may have observed in the paper just read how civil service reform was hampered. I may say that some years ago it became my professional duty to act as counsel for the Senate Investigating Committee on the Administration of the Civil Service Act in New York State, and so convinced was that committee of the public misfortune of having the appointments of those commissioners in politics that, although the majority of the committee were Republicans and were members of a Republican Senate, which under the law had the right to act with the Governor, and although the Governor was a Republican, they offered and absolutely passed a bill which deprived the Senate of its confirming power in the interest of having the commissioners appointed by some one who would be absolutely responsible for the character of the appointees.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before proceeding further with the other papers the Secretary desires to bring forward some business.

THE SECRETARY: I have applications for affiliated membership in the National Municipal League, from the following organizations, all of which have been approved by the Executive Committee:

Citizens' Committee on Municipal Ownership, Boston;

Citizens' League, New Orleans;

Citizens' League, Watertown, Mass.;

Citizens' Municipal League, Salem, Mass.;

City Improvement Society, New Brunswick, N. J.;

Civic Federation, Duluth, Minn.;

Municipal Association, Cleveland, Ohio;

Municipal League of Salt Lake City, Utah;

Municipal Voters' League, Chicago;

Taxpayers' Defence League of Cook County.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. Shall these different leagues be elected to membership in the League?

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that the organizations named be elected to affiliated membership in the National Municipal League.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

MR. WOODRUFF : This brings the list of affiliated members representing reform organizations throughout the United States up to 100.

They are located all over the country, north, south, east and west. We have a thoroughly representative membership. Of course each one of them has a varying list of membership, but all represent large bodies of earnest workers for good government.

THE CHAIRMAN : The next paper is on "The Municipal Condition of Providence, Rhode Island," by the Hon. Edwin D. McGuinnis, mayor of Providence, whom I have the honor of presenting to you.

Mr. McGuinnis then read his paper on "The Municipal Condition of Providence, Rhode Island." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN : The next and final paper will be on "The Municipal Condition of St. Louis," by Frederick W. Dewart, Esq.

Mr. Dewart then read his paper on "The Municipal Condition of St. Louis." (See *Appendix*).

THE SECRETARY : On behalf the Hon. Alfred R. Conkling, of New York, I desire to present the following paper on "The Mayor's Power of Removal" :—

In the wave of municipal reform which is now rolling over our country the most important feature of the struggle is perhaps the demand that the mayor be given the absolute power of appointment and removal, especially the latter. In other words, municipal servants should hold office during the pleasure of the executive; but there are very few charters of cities having this provision.

It is of course impossible to discuss here the power of the mayor in all of the municipalities of the United States, which now number nearly 500, so I shall refer only to Chicago and New York.

In 1894 I published my views on this topic in these words : "I think the experience of American cities will show that it is wise to give the mayor absolute sway. He should be the king or monarch of the city, and with the great power and responsibility given to a mayor—as in the city of Chicago—the taxpayers and good citizens, if they will consult their own interests, will vote together and elect a suitable man. If grievances exist in Chicago, the citizens apply to the mayor for redress."

After three years of further study of practical municipal government I have not changed my opinion, and judging from the experience of the present reform mayor of New York city, there can no longer be any doubt concerning the wisdom of giving the executive unlimited power of removal after a hearing.

But the question now arises, Why should an appointive office-holder have a hearing, and shall the mayor give his reasons for removal ?

On this subject there is much to be said on both sides. The theory on which a government servant shall hold his office is during good behavior. In barbarous and semi-civilized countries a public appointee retains his place as long as he obeys the will of the king or chief. In American cities an official generally remains upon the pay-roll provided he executes the orders of the local "boss;" and he may have been appointed in violation of the civil service law. Public office being a public trust, and municipal government being business, not politics, it is essential to the welfare of a city (as well as of a State) that all place-holders and employes shall hold office *only* during good behavior.

If an incoming mayor can remove all subordinates without a hearing, he will, if a spoilsman, discharge meritorious office-holders for purely political reasons.

The advantage of giving a hearing upon formal charges is to protect a faithful public officer, because, if the mayor must state his reasons after having heard an efficient appointee, it will be difficult to remove him on frivolous charges. If the official be dishonest, or incompetent, or irregular in attendance, it will be easy to prefer charges, and public sentiment will sustain an executive in dismissing such an officer. When the mayor's power is co-extensive with his term he need not discharge *all* commissioners and subordinates, but his administration will be a failure if he is handicapped with the political "deadweights" of his predecessor.

The length of the mayor's term of office must be considered if characters are to be amended so as to give him unqualified power of removal *without* a hearing. His term in the United States varies from one to four years. If a citizen may be appointed for a single year he will hesitate to abandon his usual occupation. It may be possible, though difficult, to obtain capable men, and in the long run only "statesmen" out of a job will consent to serve the city for as short a term as one year.

In such a case I think the mayor should have an unlimited power, during thirty days after his inauguration, to dismiss the appointees of his predecessor, and thereafter he should be authorized to remove his subordinates only after a hearing upon formal charges; but when the term of the executive is two or more years I advise that he be given plenary power for the first six months, and during the remainder of the term he should be allowed to dismiss appointees only after a hearing by counsel and the reasons for removal should be fully stated.

Here let me say that for many years the mayor of New York city has had authority to remove appointive public officers after a hearing, but subject to the *approval of the governor*.

After the defeat of Tammany Hall at the very exciting election of

1894 the reform Legislature amended the charter and gave the mayor absolute power of removal for six months after the commencement of his term of office; but after the expiration of this period he may remove public officers for cause after a hearing upon charges preferred, subject, however, to the approval of the governor expressed in writing.

In the charter for the Greater New York, which now (April 19th), after having been passed over the veto of Mayor Strong, of the city of New York, awaits the action of Governor Black, a similar provision relating to the mayor's qualified power of removal has been inserted.

In this connection I should state that the taxpayers should not bear the cost of defending an official who is tried by the mayor upon charges preferred. A recent law in New York puts this unjust expense upon the metropolis, and in these semi-political cases a lawyer is apt to charge excessive fees.

The commissioners who drew the charter for Greater New York filed supplementary majority and minority reports concerning the mayor's absolute power of removal, but I have not space to quote their opinions. In a ring-ruled city there are generally some honest and competent officials, who have been appointed upon William M. Tweed's principle of "pan-dering a little to the moral sense of the community." If citizens protest against some outrageous appointments of a bad mayor, the honest office-holders of the upper grade may sympathize with them and act accordingly. Under such circumstances a "ring" mayor will probably dismiss the "rebels" promptly, if he has an unlimited power of removal without giving his reasons after a hearing, but such cases are and always will be, I think, the exception, not the rule.

Americans should be willing to learn from the municipal authorities of older countries, but the power of the mayor and the political conditions are so different in the cities of Europe that it is not expedient to institute comparisons between the mayors of the two continents.

The chief reason for giving the mayor an absolute power of removal is perhaps to control the police force, especially when it is governed by a bi-partisan board. American voters should carefully study the charter of Chicago, which vests in the mayor unlimited control over the department of police.

An incoming mayor can promote, degrade or discharge any member of the force, but he generally transfers most of this responsibility to the chief of police.

When a charter provides for bi-partisan boards, and particularly for such a board of police commissioners, the absolute power of removal throughout his term of office is *vital* to the welfare of the city, except

perhaps, in St. Louis and Cincinnati, where the mayor is, *ex officio*, a member of the board, so that he may break a deadlock or tie vote; and even in these two cities it is better to clothe the executive with unlimited power, for, if he attends the meetings of the police board, it diverts his attention from other important duties.

If a mayor has absolute power, a bi-partisan board is not always an irremediable evil, because, if the commissioners neglect their duties, they may be removed.

Under the present reform administration of New York city the Board of Police has been for almost one year *cross-partisan*, instead of bi-partisan—i. e., one Democrat and one Republican generally vote against the other two members. One anti-reform commissioner suggests that the whole board be legislated out of office, although he and his co-worker refuse to resign! The two efficient members offer to resign; and about March 18th the mayor removed the chief obstructionist, against whom charges had been pending for more than six months. After thirty days' consideration the governor has neither approved nor reversed the action of the mayor, but every well-wisher of the city of New York hopes that he will not reinstate the obstructing commissioner, who announces that he will appeal to the courts if the governor confirms the act of removal.

In some municipalities, when the board of police is "deadlocked," a citizen may apply to the Supreme Court for relief, and, if the charter provides no method of nullifying a tie-vote, I need not say that such a condition is subversive of discipline in a police force.

If a mayor may not appoint his subordinates to hold office during his pleasure they might greatly embarrass him by negating his vote, if any of them are, *ex officio*, members of executive boards, as in the board of estimate and appointment in New York. For my part, I would always be willing to accept an appointive place upon the condition that my resignation could be had whenever the executive asked for it, provided his reasons were expressed in writing.

Let me here give an illustration of an effort of the spoilsmen in a city to remove a faithful administrative official. Several years ago the fire marshal of Chicago was too efficient to suit the "statesmen" for revenue only; so the mayor was asked to discharge him. The underwriters, however, announced that their business principles prevented them from recommending applicants for office, but added that if this fire marshal were removed insurance rates would go up twenty-five per cent. Public sentiment was aroused to such an extent that even the "ring" was influenced by it, and this capable public servant was kept in office.

A few words in conclusion concerning the duties of residents of a city

where the mayor is a dictator. Civic organizations and good government clubs should be formed, or, better still, a citizen's union or municipal party should be organized. A regular enrollment must be held once a month, and the tests of membership should be that the applicant shall be qualified to vote at the next election, and shall support honest and competent candidates without reference to his opinions on national or State issues. In other words, he must pledge himself to the doctrine that cities shall be managed upon sound business principles, and that the questions of policy which divide intelligent men in national politics, have no place in the choice of municipal officers.

It is an insult to the urban elector to assert that he cannot distinguish between candidates representing different platforms, or vote a split ticket, to use a political phrase. Recent political elections, notably in New York, Chicago, Brooklyn and Cincinnati, show that voters may exercise great power of discrimination among local candidates, especially the mayor.

Mr. Seth Low, who was mayor of Brooklyn from 1882 to 1886, selected his appointees with the understanding that their acceptance of office was evidence that their resignations could be had at any time if he asked for them.

Until the charters of our cities are amended so as to provide for the absolute power of removal of the executive, urban voters should elect candidates who will pledge themselves to follow the example of ex-Mayor Low. They will then get as good government as they desire.

All things considered, I recommend that appointees shall hold their places during the pleasure of the mayor, but in cases of removal the reasons must be fully expressed in writing.

THE CHAIRMAN : This concludes the reading of the papers, and we will now proceed to the formal business of the League. The report of the Committee on the Deming resolution is now in order.

Mr. DEMING : The committee to which my resolution was referred desires to report the resolutions in the following form :

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint a Committee of Ten to report on the feasibility of a municipal program, which shall embody the essential principles that must underlie successful municipal government, and which shall also set forth a working plan or system, consistent with American industrial and political conditions, for putting such principles into practical operation, and said committee, if it find such municipal program to be feasible, is instructed to report the same, with its reasons therefor, to the League for consideration, and said committee when appointed shall have power to fill vacancies and to add to its number for temporary or special purposes ; and, further

"*Resolved*, That, with the approval of the Treasurer, the necessary expenses of the committee hereby appointed may be paid out of any funds of the League not otherwise appropriated."

"The Committee unanimously recommend the adoption of the resolutions.

"WILLIAM B. HORNBLLOWER,
"HENRY E. BOURNE,
"GEORGE W. OCHS,
"FRANKLIN MACVEAGH,
"CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
"HORACE E. DEMING, *Committee.*"

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee as read by Mr. Deming. What is your pleasure?

MR. HARTWELL: I move that the report be accepted and that the resolutions be adopted.

MR. DEWART: I would like to make a suggestion which I do not care to put in the form of a motion, and that is that in addition to giving the form and reason for the different items, that the committee give us a summary of the opinions of different cities on the different points. For example, if the committee recommends that the mayor have large powers, they should cite the experience on that subject in different places. I find in looking over reports that they all do not give those facts. I think that is very valuable.

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution does not provide that the committee shall report a municipal program, but investigate the question, and, if feasible, recommend a report, and the whole question will then come up on the Committee's report.

MR. LOOMIS: I think it very advisable that a resolution of this character should be adopted, even though I think it quite problematical as to whether a program can be agreed upon, except in some minor details. But we have been reading papers for a year or two past, and listening to ideas, and it is time now to make a step forward and put some of them into effect. Of course we will differ on many things, but out of the discussion of this we can come to some conclusion as to which is the better plan. I second Mr. Hartwell's motion.

MR. CASSATT: As a delegate from Ohio I should like to state the especial considerations which make me consider it desirable that this report should be adopted. We may have a constitutional convention in our State inside of the next year or two, and in accordance with the experience of the other States, I suppose it would be advisable to embody in

that constitution certain fundamental features of municipal government, so that the municipal governments of our State will not be the victims of the oscillatory action of the State Legislature, if I may put it in that way. There is another standpoint to us, not only as patriotic citizens, but as members of the League, why it would be desirable to have a report of this kind. I have been reading a number of reports in the last few years, and I have found a substantial agreement upon a good many things. There is an agreement upon civil service reform, and the necessity of educating the citizen up to his duty in politics, and the exclusion of a partisanship. Many of these things we can decide on, but these can be put in the program, to be varied in other respects to suit the needs of the different localities. If the report is brought up we can focalize our discussion and arrive at exactly what we do consider best.

Mr. Hartwell's motion was unanimously adopted.

MR. BUTLER: On behalf of the Executive Committee I want to present a brief resolution for your favorable consideration. I venture to say there is not a delegate here who was not fully aware before the Convention opened its sessions that the citizens of Louisville were widely distinguished as representatives of Southern intelligence and hospitality. They have fully justified that enviable reputation. To state that they have exceeded our expectations would be putting it mildly indeed, and we offer a sincere and grateful, though imperfect, tribute in the resolution which I hold in my hand and which I am confident you will adopt:

"Resolved, That the National Municipal League, in convention assembled, hereby expresses—and it does so express—its special sense of obligation for the courtesy of the Good City Government Club, of the ladies of the Woman's Club, of the ladies and gentlemen of Louisville, so cordially extended to the members at this, its third annual meeting."

MRS. HALL: I know that supplementing this motion is hardly necessary, but, being the only lady delegate here, I have been in a peculiar position, and I have been so carefully and considerately treated that I would like to express my thankfulness to the ladies who have supported me.

The resolution was duly seconded and unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we adjourn we have with us one delegate whom I believe we would like to hear from. It is the first opportunity we have had of hearing from a woman voter. I refer to the President of the Civic Federation of Denver, Mrs. Hall. While I cannot say that I am in favor of woman suffrage, the impression has gone forth through erroneous reports, as I have ascertained, that in the recent election in Colorado the ladies refrained from voting, only a small percentage of them voting. As

I am informed, in the last election the women of Denver cast a larger number of votes than the men and elected a reform ticket. We would like to hear from Mrs. Hall before we adjourn.

MRS. FRANK W. HALL: In what I have had to do in politics my part has been more in a business direction than in an oratorical one, and I hope you will not be critical of what I have to say. Several questions have been addressed to me while I have been here, and my remarks this morning will be in the direction of answering them. They indicate what the public want to know about woman suffrage and I take this way of informing you. First: Do the women vote? They most certainly do. The Associated Press sent throughout the United States a statement that the better class of women did not vote. Being president of a woman's organization and in a position to know, as we have a registry law there which requires all the voters to register, I know that women do register and do vote. Now there is another question as to the class of unfortunate women: do they vote? They do not. They neither vote nor do they register. When we first had suffrage we sent out officers to make a canvass, and we paid them three dollars a day to do the work, and they went to these women and asked them in regard to registering and voting. The Republican heelers undertook to register them and bring them out, and the chief of police and the sheriff said they would arrest them if they were brought out; so they didn't come out. The next election after that the ward heelers did get some of them to come out and register, but only a small number of them were prevailed upon to come out. Their vote really cut no figure at all.

Then there is another thing which I think you would like to know, and that is the way the women vote. It has been my experience, and the experience of most of the people there, that the servants vote with the lady of the house. The first thing after breakfast we meet and marshal them all together, the coachman and the cook and the housemaid, and you walk them down to the polls and they cast their vote the way you want them to and that settles it. You have done your duty.

The next question is, can the women go around and electioneer like the men? I have gone around. I took a carriage in the last election and was driven around the city to various parts to which my duty called me, and I must say that I was treated with extreme courtesy by the gang, although the gang knew that I was bitterly opposed to them. I have yet to receive anything but courtesy. At the last election there was an old lady, I think she said she was eighty-six years old, who came down with her son. They walked into the voting place—we have the Australian ballot system—she taking one booth and he another. I am rather inclined to think she controlled her son's vote, too, but of course I don't know.

There is another point, and that is the working people. Every large community has a number of people who are easily influenced in their votes. We have reached those people in this way : We have a small meeting and talk with the women. We provide that kind of literature which is easily assimilated, and they will read that, and when a woman goes home and she does not control her husband's vote, she at least controls her own, and it is hard to lead a woman against what she believes, because a woman will stop and think. You cannot lead women easily. They want to ask you why on almost every important point. Of course I do not say they are all perfect. I am sorry to say that in our late election fraud, we found that one woman was involved because of the fact that a corporation was using her simply as their tool. They gave her a position and were using her in that way, and when the indictments came on she was sent out of the country so that she would not be prosecuted.

Another point is often asked me as to how we got the suffrage. I am frank to say I do not know. Since I have been trying to solve some of these municipal problems I have come to the conclusion that they had gotten things into such a muddle that they could not be any worse, and they gave us an opportunity to see what we could do.

MR. LOOMIS : I want to ask whether the ladies divide on national political questions.

MRS. HALL : Yes, and they are more strongly partisan than the men. It is astonishing how firm a woman becomes. Another curious thing that has grown out of it is the fact that the woman generally votes with her father and not with her husband.

MR. LOOMIS : How in the municipal election ?

MRS. HALL : They generally vote with their father. Of course you know in this last election we were all silver people out there, although before we had been Republican, but as the Democratic platform had the free silver plank we voted largely for Bryan ; but of course you differ with us so widely on that that we won't talk about it.

MR. HOAGLAND : Will you please tell whether you have a curfew law or not ?

MRS. HALL : We elected a council and told them to pass a curfew ordinance. We have been trying for two years to get a curfew ordinance and we finally got the ordinance, and I must say that it has worked very satisfactorily, and the one thing that was noticeable in the getting of it was that before we had any vote we couldn't get anything at all, and as soon as we got our vote we got it in three or four weeks.

At first we had considerable trouble in this matter : One political party would nominate a ticket on which there were two or three good men

and the balance of a very pronounced type of mediocrity or worse, and the other party would do the same, so that if we voted with either party we would vote for some people for whom we would not desire or, rather, for whom we ought not. Finally we took that matter into our own hands, and we decided to nominate a ticket, and we did so. We put up all men and we elected them. I came out with a manifesto proclaiming the reason why we put up the ticket, and said if they had contented themselves with nominating the proper sort of candidates we would have supported them.

MR. LOOMIS : Do you have any trouble in getting the ladies to break over the partisan lines and vote independently ?

MRS. HALL : I cannot say that. I was largely interested in getting them to vote the Republican ticket the first time, and it was a very bad one. The next time I went to the convention, and while I was not able to control the convention, I made it very warm for them, according to the old idea that if you go into a convention which you cannot control you must make it so warm for them that they know you are there. I said to them, What do you want to vote the Republican ticket for ? and they said, Didn't you make us vote the Republican ticket last fall ? It took me a good while to explain to them, but we finally got it through all right.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE LOUISVILLE CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL REFORM.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, PHILADELPHIA,Secretary of the National Municipal League.

It is somewhat difficult to estimate the progress made in any one year by the movement for better municipal government. Figures are interesting, and up to a certain point instructive. A great array of them could be marshaled as to the number of organizations and members, the amount of money raised, the pages of publications issued and a list of the meetings held, and yet come short of telling the whole story of the year's advance. I know of no adequate method except the inductive—a narration of all the activities of all the associations working for reform, and yet this would require an amount of time that I do not feel is at my disposal. The most that can be done in this connection is to recount the principal achievements of the more active organizations, and from this draw certain conclusions touching the growth of the movement, concerning the soundness of which you must depend upon your secretary's daily experience to justify. If the members of the League could but for a month read its correspondence they would realize as in no other way how deep and widespread is the interest in our work, and how constantly it is growing. From all classes and from all sections; from the student and from the business man; from the professional man and from the laborer, inquiries are daily received; and the newspapers, weeklies and magazines seem to vie with each other in giving information bearing on the numerous points at issue. It is a moderate statement to say that no subject of permanent interest and lasting importance is receiving at the present time more

careful or more general consideration at the hands of the public. Of course, news of the Cuban and Turkish wars have been given more prominence of late, but not at the sacrifice of a consideration of municipal affairs of vital importance. The interest seems to be abiding. What the result of it all, however, will be it is somewhat difficult to say. Whether it will result in a new and broader conception of the duties of citizenship, or only in a few unimportant reforms, of course no one now can tell. Personally, I profoundly believe it will usher in a new era for our American cities wherein the good citizen will be he who takes a deep and continuous interest in municipal affairs, and who will not shirk a single political duty under any pretense. These "good times" may not come this year or next, but they are on their way, and will be here perhaps before some of the most sanguine of us expect.

Taking up the recital of important achievements from which we are to determine the extent of the general advance, we must commence with Boston, the home of political experiments. Here we find the Municipal League continuing its efforts to secure needed changes in the laws relating to that city. One by one important amendments have been suggested, pressed and finally adopted. The term of the mayor has been lengthened and single headed bureaus substituted for commissions; and now a League bill is upon passage establishing a single chambered legislature in place of the biennial one; and another creating a mayor's council or cabinet, to consist of members selected from leading trade and business bodies, to serve in a purely advisory capacity, and to perpetuate as a part of the city's government the present extra-legal but most useful council appointed by Mayor Quincy at the beginning of his term. The League's activity has been mainly along legislative lines, although it has exerted in some instances a most salutary political influence.

As an outgrowth of the recent street car agitation, a strong Citizens' Committee has been appointed to agitate for

the municipal ownership of street railways. This Committee has already enlisted many of the most eminent citizens of Boston, and promises to bring the whole question before the general public in such a way that they will before long have to decide definitely whether or not they purpose to have the city reap a portion of the benefits of municipal monopolies or whether they intend that the present plan of allowing private corporations to reap them shall continue. By printed page and public meeting the Committee has succeeded in making the whole question one of immediate and pressing interest. Every such discussion, as has time and again been pointed out in our Conferences, is bound to result in a closer study of municipal problems, and has an educational influence of great value.

The Municipal League of Providence, Rhode Island, although organized since our last meeting, has to its credit what many an older organization might be justly proud of—the re-election of a competent Democratic mayor in a Republican city in a Presidential year by 10,000 majority—a striking endorsement of one of the fundamental principles of municipal reform, that municipal affairs must be considered separate and apart from State and national politics. The League's victory has had a salutary effect, and similar associations are springing up in other sections of the State, all based on the same principle and designed to carry on work of the same kind.

From the smaller cities of New England come equally encouraging reports. In Biddeford, Maine, the Citizens Municipal Association a year ago nominated, supported and elected a non-partisan ticket, and this year re-elected the officials who faithfully carried out their promises to give the city an economical and businesslike administration. Six out of seven aldermen and eighteen out of twenty-one councilmen supported by the Association were elected. The Library Hall Association of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has continued with its usual success to discriminate between candidates and to recommend those whose records and character indicate their fitness to serve the

public faithfully. By means of this process, carried on for a number of years with judgment and discretion, Cambridge has now a city government of unusual ability, and one which has the somewhat unusual merit of generally representing the wishes of the citizens. The Municipal League of Somerville recently elected a mayor, two aldermen and six councilmen, and greatly improved the political atmosphere of the city.

When we come to consider the state of municipal affairs in New York City, or to be more accurate, in Greater New York, we find them most perplexing. The fact of consolidation is a great event of itself, and the draft of a charter for the new city is an equally great one, and these two practically overshadow all others. The welding together of several independent communities of differing traditions and antecedents into a harmonious whole will prove a difficult task. The political ingenuity of the Anglo-Saxon will find a way out, but I rather expect it will tax it to the utmost. Whether the new charter will hinder or promote effective consolidation we shall have to wait to see. About one thing there can be no doubt, and that is that while in some features it represents a distinct advance in charter making, in giving to the mayor fuller responsibility, with adequate power, on the other hand it represents an adherence to the old idea that municipal legislatures must be modeled after those of our State and federal governments, as if their functions were analogous. Whereas, if our modern experience has taught us anything, it is that many of the evils of municipal government are due to adherence to the idea that municipal government is essentially the same as the federal government, and should be conducted along similar lines, and that its personnel should be selected in the same way and upon the same platform. It is most unfortunate from the point of view of charter development that more time could not be given to the consideration of its provisions, so that it should represent the latest and best thought on the subject of municipal government, and also represent a concrete and harmonious whole, instead of

a crude enactment that necessitated within forty-eight hours after its passage the introduction of upwards of thirty-six amendatory bills to correct defects, omissions and mistakes.

The formation of the Citizens' Union can only be regarded as auspicious, and as a rational result of the painstaking work of the City and Good Government Clubs and the Citizens' Vigilance League. It stands squarely and fairly for a consideration of municipal affairs from a municipal viewpoint, irrespective of national or State politics. It is the intention of the Union to make a personal canvass of every voter in Greater New York to ascertain his attitude on this and other propositions connected with the efficient government of the city, so that no one can say that he has not had the opportunity to co-operate with those favoring good government—a step of undoubted educational as well as of political value.

These questions of the future in New York overshadow the solid work for reform that has been accomplished under the present administration. Although we cannot but regret that its distinguished mayor construed his non-partisan election and victory to be a multi-partisan one, still many substantial reforms are to be credited to it. The improvement in the police force and in the minor judiciary, in the cleanliness of the streets, in the school, fire and park boards, not to mention more, are all worthy of commendation, and any one of which would ordinarily be considered a matter for profound congratulation.

The Good Government Clubs of New York City have undertaken certain special work which has thus far been most successfully carried on. For instance, under the act of 1895, providing for the expropriation of tenement houses for sanitary purposes, a number of the most objectionable and crowded tenements in the down-town district have been condemned; the properties vacated and the orders of the Board of Health enforced, despite the opposition of the landlords. As a consequence a number of houses dangerous to the health of the community have been demolished. The Clubs have also been

devoting considerable time and attention to improving the sanitary condition of bake-shops and to the enforcement of the law relating to the introduction of safety appliances in tenement and other buildings occupied by large numbers of people. More than 10,000 orders for lighting up alleyways and dark tenement houses have been issued by the Health Bureau at the instance of the Clubs, and other similar work has been undertaken to the manifest advantage of the poor, who must of necessity live in these districts. Considerable attention has also been paid to the administration of justice in the lower courts and to the enforcement of the compulsory education law. The Board of Education has been compelled to provide a truant school instead of sending the truants to institutions to which child criminals are committed. The City Improvement Society and the Woman's Health Protective Association have been specially active in investigating complaints of the violation of laws and with efforts to secure the enforcement of existing ordinances. Their work has been most successfully carried on, and there has been an appreciable improvement in certain lines of municipal work as a consequence of their activity. Similar organizations in Brooklyn have also been most successful.

The Good Government Clubs of Buffalo have been devoting their energies particularly to improving the caucus system in vogue in that city, and to increasing independent voting. As a result, they report there has been an increase in the latter of 10,000 voters, and that the Clubs now hold the balance of power. Thus far no candidate endorsed by the Good Government Clubs has been defeated, and no candidate condemned has been elected. Special committees of the Council of Good Government Clubs have been conducting investigations of several municipal boards and, as a consequence, indictments have been found against eight supervisors and the keeper of the almshouse on the charge of making fraudulent accounts. A radical change for the better in the methods of conducting the finances of the Board of Supervisors has already taken place.

The Good Government Clubs subscribed \$5,000 to prosecute this work.

In Rochester, the good work reported a year ago has been continued and the Good Government Club has brought the machine to its senses, so that the latter is now trying its best to furnish better government for the city. The Club has been active in securing the passage of a new charter for the city. Its enactment by the recently adjourned Legislature is considered a gain for good government. Outside of the cities mentioned there has been no special development except in the way of legislation for second class cities, a bill providing a new form of government for these having been passed by the Legislature. This latter has had the approval of many of those who are interested in the welfare of the cities affected.

In Pennsylvania, thanks to the positive and unequivocal declarations of the State Republican platforms, for two years past, the reform movement has received an undoubted impetus. There is a tendency, however, on the part of some members to allow the party's promises to go by default, now that concrete measures have been presented to the Legislature; but wiser counsels are prevailing, and while the reformers are not likely to secure all they have asked for, still the prospects are that some advance may be made. The Municipal League of Philadelphia has prepared and submitted a number of amendments to the present very excellent charter. They are designed to extend the principles of that instrument to certain departments not now covered by it. For instance, one bill provides for the election of select councilmen on a ticket at large, and the reduction of the number of its members and those of common council. Another provides for the enactment of an adequate civil service law, a third makes members of councils ineligible for municipal, county or State offices, a fourth forbids the political assessment of officeholders, and the fifth provides for the regulation of grants of municipal franchises. All of these amendments have received the hearty approval of reformers throughout the State, and a

general desire has been expressed to have them apply uniformly to all cities of the Commonwealth. The Municipal League of Pittsburg is working to secure a new charter for that city, based on the Bullitt bill, and including the Municipal League amendments. As the Legislature is still in session, it is impossible to state which of the reform bills will be enacted into law, but the sentiment seems to be general that there will be some reforms, if not all that have been asked for, adopted.

In Wilmington, Del., the Charter Commission has reported to the Legislature an excellent charter modeled on the lines of concentrated responsibility and a clear and distinct definition of the powers of the several branches of the government. This charter, like that for Pittsburg, is now pending in the Legislature. Only the politicians are opposed to it, because it means a curtailment of their privileges and the necessity of a readjustment to new conditions. Outside of the politicians, however, there seems to be little or no opposition to the measure.

In Baltimore the event of most importance during the year was the victory of Mayor Hooper over councils. It will be recalled that when Mayor Hooper was installed in office many of those who had co-operated in securing his election claimed that his victory was a partisan one. He differed from these interested advisers and claimed that his election was a victory for the people, and that his office should be administered accordingly. When he attempted to follow out this idea and refused to accede to the demands of the politicians they retaliated by having an ordinance passed through councils taking from him the right to make certain appointments. The councils then proceeded to elect certain officials who had theretofore been appointed by the mayor. The latter asserted his rights and appealed to the courts for a vindication of his course. It was a matter for congratulation, a triumph for civil service reform and a defeat for the politicians, when the court decided that councils had no right to take from the mayor the power of appointment

in the case before them, and practically confirmed his right to make appointments in accordance with his own ideas of good government.

The Democratic League for Good Government of Richmond, Va., is a unique organization. Its membership is confined to white Democrats, but otherwise its fundamental principles are in accord with reform organizations elsewhere. It has been organized scarcely a year, but every one of its candidates, with a single exception, was elected, and, thanks to its well directed activities, the councils have created a board of retrenchment and reform, and a saving of \$150,000 per annum in the way of expenses has been accomplished by the introduction of business methods.

Interest in municipal affairs in the cities of Ohio continues unabated, and independence on the part of voters has been the leading characteristic in the recent elections. In Toledo the reformers elected their candidate for mayor and police prosecutor, thus giving them, with the member elected last year, a majority of the board of police commissioners. This will of itself insure a prompt and efficient enforcement of the laws and ordinances. The gains in other directions have been equally great. The result in Cincinnati, where the "machine" candidate was decisively defeated, although having the support of expectant federal and State officeholders, is ample cause for congratulation.

In the Western States the most interesting event was the recent election in Chicago. This has been variously regarded by the friends of good government, some maintaining that it was a decisive defeat for their forces; others that there were certain substantial gains made. At first blush it did seem as if the victory of Mayor Harrison, who had generally been regarded as unfriendly to civil service reform, was a decided set-back for the cause, but his statements since his election have been so satisfactory that the Civic Federation of Chicago has adopted resolutions endorsing his position. The

Municipal Voters' League took a prominent part in the campaign. Of the thirty-four aldermen retiring last spring, the League condemned, on their record, twenty-eight. Of these only ten succeeded in securing a renomination, and two ran upon independent tickets. Of the twelve named who ran as candidates only two were elected, and one other succeeded in securing a certificate of election, but his seat is contested. Of the new members elected, twenty stand pledged in writing to support the principles of the Municipal Voters' League. The officers of the League claim that the present council is the best that the city has had in years. It is admitted that the council is more to be relied upon than the Legislature. As a consequence the politicians and interested corporations have transferred their fight from councils to the Legislature in the fear that the council will not recommend an extension of the franchises which will expire within the next three or four years. The large vote cast for the Independent Republican candidate is also indicative of a large independent sentiment in the community.

The Civic Federation during the past year undertook an extensive investigation of the pay rolls of the city and developed a large amount of municipal corruption, and evidence was secured and an attorney employed, who, under the direction of the Civil Service Commission, succeeded in sending a number of men to the penitentiary and broke up a deliberate and organized system of pay roll padding. A large number of bucket-shop keepers has been indicted and a number of indictments has also been secured for violations of the primary election laws. In street cleaning work, the Federation has succeeded in reducing the contract price from \$18.50 per mile to \$8.00. Many other equally important reforms have been accomplished, and on the whole the active workers in Chicago cannot but feel encouraged by the advances made.

The Municipal League of Milwaukee, as in former years, has a long and satisfactory list of accomplished reforms to its

credit. Last year it had the pleasure of reporting the passage of a civil service law ; this year it is a corrupt practices act. This has occupied its main energies, but not to the exclusion of other important work. For instance, it has exposed and corrected the extravagance of the city government, and the fact that it had exceeded its legal tax limit. It exposed in time to prevent its consummation a contemplated steal of \$10,000 in connection with the purchase of a school site. It drafted and materially assisted in the passage of a bill reorganizing the school board. It has also before the Legislature several other important bills introducing needed reforms which may become laws at this session. The Municipal Reform League of Duluth, Minn., elected five out of eight aldermen. The Civic Federation of Denver was successful in securing the election of the taxpayers' ticket, for which it was largely responsible, by a large majority. The women, who contributed largely to this by their votes and influence, not unfairly claim a large share of credit for this most satisfactory outcome, and maintain that it demonstrates the advisability of enfranchising women. Of the renewed energy of the Louisville Good City Government Club in pressing for the indictment and conviction of derelict public officials I need not more than refer to at this time, and in this place.

I have not attempted in this hasty and incomplete review to indicate all that has been accomplished since our last meeting. Nor have I undertaken even to mention the numerous efforts that have been made in every direction to study the problem, to inform and educate citizens, to arouse interest and to organize reform sentiment. In many instances the work done along these lines is quite as valuable and quite as important as the victories chronicled. There must be a vast deal of preparatory work before we can begin to hope for permanently satisfactory results, and the increasing number of organizations devoting their time and means and energies to this preliminary and fundamental work is to my mind the most encouraging event in the

whole course of the movement in which we are interested. Not that I underestimate the value of the victories referred to, but our campaign is essentially one of education, and must be for some time to come, and the realization of this among the great mass of municipal reformers furnishes substantial ground for an optimistic view of the whole situation. If they were striving only for immediate success, without reference to the future, it would present but a pitiable picture ; but as they are working heartily for the present, and quite as heartily for the future, we need have no fear of the ultimate outcome of the whole agitation.

The development of interest and progress along certain lines of municipal activity is specially interesting and important. I have reference particularly to charter reform, municipal ownership of semi-public monopolies and civil service reform. Charter reform has been an absorbing question in many communities the past year, due undoubtedly to the discontent that has grown up as the consequence of a broader knowledge of municipal affairs on the part of citizens. The first step usually taken by those who have become interested in the subject is to suggest a change in the laws, hence charter revision has come to occupy an important place in reform movements. The desire for this change, which has been general throughout the country, has been accompanied by a growing disposition to break away from the old idea of divided responsibility and adopt the modern one of undivided and concentrated responsibility and adequate power. We are gradually getting away from the fear of one-man power, which was so prevalent a hundred years ago, and the effects of which we see in most of our present day State and municipal constitutions and charters. A careful study will disclose the fact that governors and mayors have had but little actual power, their principal function being to represent the dignity and standing of the State and city. This condition of affairs is, however, partly due to another cause, namely, that we have followed English custom and precedent too closely without

realizing that we had our own problems which we must solve in our own way, with due regard, however, to the experience of English cities. I have in mind the charter of a large and prosperous commercial city of upwards of 300,000, the mayor of which has the appointment of two officials, a clerk and a messenger in his own office, and no other ; and outside of a veto power over legislation performs no other function except to sign a certain class of vouchers. It is hardly possible to reduce the duties of an executive to a narrower limit. The power of appointment under this charter is principally in the hands of certain directors of departments elected by councils. The terms of the directors expire at different periods from those of the councilmen, and by those satisfactory arrangements, which politicians know so well how to make, the two parties to the agreement play into each other's hands and work each to perpetuate the tenure of office of the other. In every instance of charter revision which has come to my notice during the past few years the power and responsibility of the mayor has been exalted, and the functions of the several departments of local government sharply differentiated. In some cases the reforms have been introduced one by one, as in the cases of Boston and Milwaukee. In the majority, however, a single bill has been prepared embracing all the desired changes. We have already mentioned the efforts of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Wilmington. In New Orleans an excellent charter embracing the most modern ideas on city government, was passed by the Louisiana Legislature, and is now in successful operation. In New Haven, Conn., St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Minn., Wheeling, W. Va., Denver, Colo., Los Angeles, Sacramento, Cal., Tacoma, Wash., St. Louis, Mo., and Galveston, Tex., the question has been debated in one form or another. In some the efforts have succeeded ; in others they have failed, and in still others they are pending. Judging from the reports that have been made, those who have undertaken the matter in the various communities do not intend to yield any of their demand

for improved forms and methods of government and purpose keeping up the fight until all of their demands are granted.

The awakening sentiment in favor of the municipal ownership and control of semi-public monopolies, like street railways, gas and electric light plants and waterworks, is a further indication of the deepening and broadening interest in municipal affairs. There are organizations in Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo and Alameda, Cal., that are devoting their attention exclusively to this phase of the problem. Other bodies, of which the City Club of New York, the Municipal League of Philadelphia, the Commercial Club of Indianapolis, and the Civic Federation of Chicago are types, are giving it careful and studious attention. There cannot any longer be a doubt as to the trend of public opinion on this subject. The number of advocates of municipal ownership (which does not necessarily mean municipal operation) is constantly increasing, and the number of advocates of private ownership is just as surely diminishing. I do not make this assertion in the way of argument, but simply and solely as an observed fact.

Until two years or so ago the only cities in which civil service rules were in force were those of New York and Massachusetts, unless we take into consideration the system in Philadelphia. In New York, under the act of 1883, the mayors of cities of over 50,000 inhabitants were permitted to prescribe rules. In 1884 the act was made mandatory, and extended to all cities without regard to population. The mayors of New York, Brooklyn and Buffalo, however, had already prescribed rules under the permissive act. The system is now in operation in each of the thirty-five cities of New York State, and each city has its own Civil Service Commission, appointed by the mayor, though the rules and classification it adopts are subject to the approval of the State board. In Massachusetts the rules are applied to every city by the original act of 1884. The plan is radically different from that in New York, however, in that the State board has direct control of the examinations in each city.

There are no local commissions. The Illinois act of 1894 provided for the establishment of rules in any city in which the proposition might be approved by popular vote. The system was adopted in Chicago at the spring election of 1895 by a very large majority. It has since been adopted in Evanston by a correspondingly large majority. In Wisconsin an act was passed in 1895 providing for rules in cities of the first class. Milwaukee is the only city affected, and the rules there have been in full effect since July 5th, 1895.

In Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, the system was adopted by a popular vote at the spring elections of 1896. In Seattle the incumbents of all city offices were subjected to an examination to qualify them for retention, and quite a number of incompetents were dismissed in consequence. In Tacoma, shortly after the civil service commission was organized and the first examination held, the new charter in which the rules were embodied was annulled by the lower State courts on the ground that the election at which it had been adopted had not been regularly called. A month or so ago the Supreme Court reversed this decision, and the application of the rules has been resumed. In New Orleans the system was incorporated in the new charter passed by the Legislature in 1896, and although hindered by the hostility of the common council, it is now in fairly smooth operation.

This comprises the list of cities in which rules are now in operation. The list of municipalities in which movements for civil service reform have been commenced during the past year is a large one. A civil service bill has been introduced in the Legislature of Connecticut applying to the State service and to every city. Civil service provisions have also been inserted in the proposed new charter for New Haven. An act that has been in force for a year in that city provides for rules in the case of the police and fire departments, but the examinations are not competitive and amount to little. In New Jersey a proposed bill applying to all cities of the State was drafted by

a committee of the Newark common council at a recent meeting. Owing to the opposition of a delegation of veterans representing various Grand Army posts a motion to recommend the passage of this bill to the Legislature was defeated by a narrow vote. The subject will undoubtedly come up again another year. In Pennsylvania a bill has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House providing for the application of civil service rules to all officials of the State and the cities. It has been formally endorsed by the Republican Convention and the Civil Service Reform Association.

In Maryland the last Legislature passed a bill for the submission of a proposed constitutional amendment to the people at the election of November, 1897. This amendment provides for rules in every city of the State. It has recently been discovered, however, that the language was tampered with during the last days of the session, and it may be decided by the local reformers to abandon the attempt to pass it, and to depend on the next Legislature for a general bill. In Wheeling, W. Va., a proposed new charter has been drawn and submitted to the common council. It provides for a complete system of civil service rules. The progress of the movement has been retarded somewhat, however, by the hostility of the council. In Michigan a bill is now pending providing for rules for State and city offices, and in Wisconsin a bill is pending extending the Milwaukee system to the other cities of the State. In Minnesota there is a bill pending framed on the lines of the Illinois law, applying to those cities that may adopt it by a popular vote. In Iowa a bill prepared by the Commercial Exchange has been introduced providing for a system of rules for Des Moines. In St. Louis charter amendments providing for a very complete system of rules will be submitted to popular vote at a special election to be called shortly. These amendments have been prepared by the charter revision commission of the city, after numerous public hearings, and have been framed evidently with the utmost care. In Galveston, Texas, there is a charter com-

mission at work, a sub-committee of which is charged with the preparation of civil service sections. In Colorado a State civil service bill is pending, having the local option provision, and framed somewhat on the plan of that in Minnesota. A few days ago, however, those sections of the proposed new charter for the city of Denver containing the provisions for civil service rules were stricken from the bill. In California a proposed new charter for San Francisco embodying the civil service system was defeated by a narrow majority, though the issue on which it was lost was not that of civil service reform. A proposed new charter for Los Angeles, also containing a civil service provision, was defeated in a popular election, a majority of the votes being cast for it, but not the necessary two-thirds. A State civil service bill, applying to every city, was defeated in the Senate a week ago by a majority of three votes. While it is probable that not a few of these local movements will fail of success, it is plain that the promoters of each are very much in earnest, and that success will come some other year if not this. Every indication points to a very general movement among the larger cities for the adoption of this reform through charter amendment during the coming year.

In every direction the outlook is bright and promising, not, perhaps, of the immediate fulfillment of all the hopes and desires of those who are most deeply interested; but of substantial progress and steady growth. The sentiment for better government is gaining day by day. It is not a movement for a particular form of local government nor of specific panaceas for municipal evils; but rather one to bring the citizens, those who are primarily responsible, to a fuller appreciation and a more general discharge of the duties of citizenship—in short, a movement for citizenship reform. The indifference and apathy of the average voter has been a matter of general comment. To overcome this and to replace it with that interest and that action without which no permanent reform can be accomplished; the realization that good government depends

for its very existence upon good men, is the fundamental basis of municipal reform. Charter revision, civil service rules and regulations, fair elections and an honest count and return are all important ; but they depend for their success upon sound public opinion, and that depends upon good citizenship. Good laws are important ; good citizenship is essential.

THE POWERS OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

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The powers which any city should exercise depend very largely upon local conditions. No general rule as to extent of municipal powers can be laid down. Thus cities which are situated on tidewater must exercise powers different both in extent and character from those possessed by cities situated inland. Further, inasmuch as we have no longer any instances of the city-state—so common in times of antiquity—inasmuch as at the present time all cities are but parts of a larger political entity, the powers which any particular city possesses depend also very largely on the position which the city occupies in the general scheme of government. The city thus may be regarded as merely part of a greater whole, to be governed, as are all other parts of the greater whole, by the authorities of the State to which it is subject, or it may be regarded as having an individuality distinct from that of the State, with needs of its own, different from the general needs of the State. The former was the position assigned to the French city by the Napoleonic scheme of administration. The latter is the position assigned to the modern Prussian city. Even where the Napoleonic idea of the position of the city is held, it is, of course, true that the State authorities which govern the city will be influenced in their treatment of particular municipal problems by local conditions; but in such a scheme the ultimate power of determining municipal policy is vested, not in municipal, but in the State authorities. Under the Prussian system, on the contrary, it is the local

municipal authorities who determine the local policy, *i. e.*, determine what concrete powers shall be exercised, and who, in their determination are, much more than the State authorities ever could be, governed by local considerations.

Thus while in both cases local conditions are an important factor in the determination of municipal powers, the method adopted for the regulation of the relations of the city with the central authorities of the State government—that is, the method of fixing the position which the city occupies in the general scheme of State government, is a vastly more important, is, indeed, the controlling factor in the problem. It becomes necessary, therefore, to ascertain what is the position of the city. In our endeavor to answer this question, we shall receive assistance from considering the matter at first entirely from the point of view of theory.

I have already said that the city with which we have to deal at the present time is a part of the State. The people residing within it are therefore members of the State. As members of the State they have interests which are common to all members of the State. Thus, as all other members of the State, they have an interest in the preservation of peace and order. Again, they have an interest in uniform and proper administration of civil and criminal justice. If they have children they have an interest in the efficient administration of the school system of the State. In order that all these matters of government be attended to it is necessary that there should be properly organized authorities. Two methods have been devised for their attention. By the one the State takes these matters absolutely into its own hands and provides officers appointed by the governor or other central State authority. By the other, the city, as one of the administrative divisions of the State, is given large administrative powers. If this latter is the case—and it is the case to a greater or less degree in all countries—the city is acting as the agent of the central State government, for it is administering branches of government which interest all the people of the State.

But this is not all the work of the city. For just so soon as you have a large number of people in a small district—just so soon, in other words, as you have the physical basis of a city, new interests begin to develop which are of a purely local character, which do not interest all the people of the State. Whereas, in a sparsely settled community reliance may be placed on individual effort to satisfy individual needs, in a thickly settled district many of these needs require for their satisfaction social co-operation and effort. Thus, in a rural district if an individual wishes to have pure water he attends to that matter himself by sinking the necessary well, or obtaining his water from a spring of sufficient purity. If he wishes a sewer he builds it himself, and he alone is to blame if he builds it in such a manner as to endanger the health of his family. If the road upon which his house is situated becomes dirty, it is a result, in most cases, of his own neglect, and can be remedied by his own action. Just so soon, however, as the rural character of a district is changed—*i. e.*, just so soon as a large number of people gather together in any small section, the needs which during its existence as a rural locality were purely individual needs, and could be attended to by individual effort, take on the nature of social, and, in a way, governmental needs. It thus is impossible, in an urban district, for each of the individuals composing the community to provide his own water supply. In the same way it is impossible for each individual to build his own sewer without causing a nuisance which will affect the other individuals of the community. Other problems also arise from the mere fact of the aggregation of a large number of people in a small district. The city is therefore not only an agent of State government. It is also an organization for the satisfaction of local needs, needs which the people of the State as a whole hardly feel at all. It may be, indeed often is, the case that the ordinary municipal organization discharges both these functions, but the two functions are capable of clear differentiation from the point of view of theory.

On account of the tendency of the modern State to assume

more and more the direct discharge of those functions of government which interest it directly, leaving to the city very little power relative to them, and on account of the tremendous development of distinctively local municipal administration as a result of the discoveries of modern science in the domains of health and transportation, it has become the fashion in this country of late years to speak of the city as a business corporation, and to regard the work of the city as rather business than governmental in character. This view of the city's position is, however, an incorrect one, and if followed, it is believed, will lead to disastrous results. There can be no question that in so far as the city is an agent of State government—and it is so everywhere—it cannot be regarded as possessing any of the characteristics of a business corporation. Nor, in so far as the city is an organization for the satisfaction of local needs, can it be regarded as a business corporation. It is, of course, true that most of these purely local functions are in a rural community attended to by individual effort. But the conclusion does not follow that when these matters become the objects of municipal activity they still retain their individual and non-governmental character. The mere fact that they are assumed by the municipal government is an indication that individual effort would be unavailing for their advantageous discharge. These duties are assumed by the municipality because the local social welfare demands that they shall be so assumed. The city enters into these undertakings, not because it believes that it will derive a profit from them, but because it believes that it is necessary, or at least advantageous to the public welfare that they shall be attended to by a governmental organization—*i. e.*, an organization which has powers of sovereignty or compulsion. But while municipal government is not business it is very largely administration; and so far as it is administration politics should not enter into it, any more than they should enter into State administration.

Such, then, is the position of the city from the point of view of theory, and from the point of view of actual fact. It is a

governmental, not a business corporation. It is, however, not merely an agent of State government, but also an organization for the satisfaction of local needs.

The fact that a city occupies the position such as has been described leads to two concrete results: In the first place, the fact that a city is an agent of the State government makes it necessary to give to the State government control over it. The State cannot, with due regard for its safety, permit municipal corporations or their officers free hand in the discharge of their functions of State agency. For if anything is proved by English and American administrative history it is that uncontrolled local administration of general matters both leads to great lack of administrative uniformity and harmony where uniformity of treatment is necessary, and is slovenly and inefficient. In the second place, the fact that a city is an organization for the satisfaction of local needs makes it necessary that its action be determined by local considerations. To this end, it must have large local powers.

If, on the one hand, sufficient account is not taken of the important State functions which the city discharges, lack of uniformity in the administration of matters of general concern, where such uniformity is one of the prerequisites of efficient administration, will result. If, on the other hand, sufficient attention is not directed to the fact that the city is an important organ for the satisfaction of local needs, the city loses its powers of local action, and any vigorous municipal development is made impossible.

Such being the position of the city, and such being the results which follow upon its position, it is of the utmost importance that the general law of municipal corporations, particularly that part of it which relates to the powers of municipal corporations, shall be framed upon correct principles. This, indeed, is *the* problem of distinctively municipal government. In comparison with it the problem of organization is insignificant. For we may change in its details the organization of our municipali-

ties ; we may provide that this officer may be elected by the people, or that that officer be appointed by the mayor. But we shall not have solved the problem of municipal government until we devise a law which, on the one hand, will provide the necessary control over those functions of municipal administration which interest the State as a whole, and on the other hand, will grant to the municipalities sufficient powers to permit of municipal development and efficient municipal government in accordance with local considerations.

How, now, have we solved this problem in this country? What is, in accordance with our law of municipal corporations, the character of the control exercised over them as State agents, and what are the powers which they may exercise as organizations for the satisfaction of local needs? Before this matter can be treated understandingly, it is necessary that we understand the character of our general scheme of State administration. Our general scheme of State administration may be described as one of legislative centralization and administrative decentralization. That is, the Legislature in all the States is accustomed to descend into the greatest details with regard to all the powers of all the administrative authorities in the government. This detailed, enumerated legislation, which often determines questions of local, including municipal, policy, it is the duty of administrative officers to execute uncontrolled by any central administrative authority. This system of administration is not accidental. It has been purposely adopted, and the constitutions of various States have attempted to insure that the statutes of the Legislature shall be executed by officers selected and controlled by the local people. Hence the constitutional provisions which are so common, assuring to localities, among them being included the cities, the right to elect or appoint their local or municipal officers. Under such a system of administration, the only central control which can in the nature of things exist is to be found in the power of the Legislature to change the detailed legislation regulating the powers and duties of local officers.

The exercise of this control has resulted naturally in an enormous amount of special legislation.

This system of controlling municipal corporations has serious disadvantages. In the first place, the Legislature which exercises it is of necessity dominated by State rather than local considerations. It is naturally controlled by State political parties, which have been organized for the furtherance of State rather than local politics. In the second place, it has been difficult, if not impossible, for the Legislature to differentiate as clearly as is desirable the different spheres of action of the municipality; to distinguish its position as a State agent from its position as an organization for the satisfaction of local needs. The result has been that the powers of the Legislature, which from the theoretical point of view should be exercised merely to control the municipality as an agent of the State, have been used as well to determine its local policy. The third result of this system of administration has been the impossibility of obtaining a scientific consideration of the problem of municipal organization. The spoils of municipal office have been so attractive to the political party in control of the Legislature that it has made use of the control of the Legislature to change the organization of cities solely with the purpose of benefiting itself.

The attempt has been made in several States to take away this power of control from the State Legislature by providing in the constitution that the Legislature shall not have the power to pass special acts relative to municipal affairs. This method has, however, in most States, been a complete failure. The failure has been most marked in the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania. The failure in the State of Pennsylvania was brought out most clearly in a paper which was read before you at your last meeting in Baltimore, where it was shown in connection with the description of the municipal condition of the city of Pittsburg that the prohibition of special legislation had not only been of practically no value in preventing such legislation, but

had, on account of the way in which the laws were framed, introduced uncertainty into the laws where under the domain of special legislation, pure and simple, the law had been perfectly certain.

Not only has the American system of controlling municipalities in the interest of State uniformity had the result of reducing the municipality to the position of a mere agent of State government, whose local policy is determined by the legislative body of the State; it has also been proved that the legislative control is an extremely inefficient one. This is brought out very clearly when we come to consider the question of municipal indebtedness. In all countries the attempt has been made by the central government to provide some limit to municipal indebtedness, which the municipalities should not overstep. In this country, in accordance with our general system of government, this limit is fixed by the Legislature. It is so fixed as a result of the adoption of the principle that a municipality has no power to borrow money without legislative authorization. But the legislatures have been so prodigal in their grants to the municipalities of the power to borrow money that the people have had to take the matter in hand, and have had to fix in their constitutions limits beyond which the legislative authorization could have no effect. As a general thing at the present time, the constitution of the State provides that no municipality shall incur a debt beyond a fixed per cent. of its assessed valuation for purposes of taxation.

In view of these facts it may be said, without danger of contradiction, that the American method of determining, in the law of municipal corporations, the position of the city has been a failure. This is true whether we regard the method of providing the necessary central control over the city as agent of State government, or the method of granting to it local powers where it is acting as an organization for the satisfaction of local needs.

The question naturally arises: Is there any other more

successful method? Such a method is to be found in the European system of regulating the relations of the city and the State. This matter has been generally omitted by students of foreign municipal government. On account of their treatment of the city as an isolated phenomenon, they have devoted most of their attention to the consideration of the organization and administration of particular cities, and have omitted to lay sufficient emphasis upon the great influence which the relation of the city to the State has upon the whole problem of municipal government. As may be supposed, the relation of the city to the central government is in Europe, as here, determined very largely by the general scheme of administration. While our scheme of administration may be denominated legislative centralization and administrative decentralization, the scheme of foreign administration may be denominated legislative decentralization and administrative centralization.

That is, the Legislature never attempts to regulate in detail matters of administration. Its contents itself with laying down general principles which the administration then is to carry out, the local administrative officers being guided in their actions by instructions and ordinances issued by the executive, and the central State departments, which regulate the details, in this country regulated by the Legislature itself. So far as the relation of the city to the State is concerned, this method of administration has several results.

In the first place, municipal corporations are incorporated by general acts. These acts of corporation are general in two senses. They are general in that they effect almost all of the municipalities in the State; they are general, also, in that they do not descend into detail, but so far as local powers are concerned content themselves with giving large grants of power in general form to municipalities to regulate their own purely local matters. The French Municipal Corporations Act of 1884 is perhaps the most marked example of this method of granting local powers which can well be adduced. In Article LXI it says:

"The municipal council regulates by its deliberation the affairs of the commune."

What the affairs of the commune are is to be determined by a consideration of the entire administrative law. If this law gives certain powers to specific authorities, these powers are of necessity excluded from the jurisdiction of the council and are to be exercised by the authorities to which they are granted. The greater extent of local powers possessed by the European municipal corporations has the effect of making much special legislation unnecessary. This method of granting municipal powers also takes from the Legislature both the temptation and the opportunity to interfere for partisan political reasons in municipal affairs, especially because the local powers granted include the power of organizing the detailed municipal administration. Whereas almost all American municipal charters descend into the greatest detail with regard to the organization of the municipalities, on the Continent and in England, also, the details of municipal organization are a matter for local determination, the general municipal corporations acts merely sketching out the general framework.

In the second place, the Continental system of administration takes from the Legislature the control which must of necessity be exercised over those functions of government that are attended to by the municipality as an agent of State government. This control is exercised by the administration rather than by the Legislature. Thus, for example, it is provided in all general municipal corporations acts that municipal corporations may incur indebtedness with the approval of some central administrative authority. The vesting of the central control in the administration not only results in a more efficient control, it also takes the control out of politics. This is particularly true where the spoils system does not exist; but in any case the administration is less susceptible than the Legislature to political influences. This method of regulating the relation of the city to the State, which originated on the Continent, has within the last sixty years

been adopted in England. The English city is no longer subjected to the control of Parliament, but to that of a new department of the interior called the Local Government Board.

Not only has this Continental idea been introduced into England, it has also obtained a foothold in this country. Wherever we have felt it absolutely necessary that affairs of government should be taken out of politics we have either forbidden the Legislature to exercise a detailed control over them through the passage of special legislation, or we have provided that the necessary control shall be exercised by administrative bodies. Thus take our school administration. It is universally admitted that schools should be administered as free as possible from political influences; the effort of the educational reformer has therefore been to decrease the power of the Legislature and increase that of the administrative bodies of the State government over schools. The same is true of prisons. In both these cases the attempt has been successful. At the present time both schools and prisons are under the control of State administrative authorities, which exercise all the detailed central control over them which is necessary. No one will deny that a vast improvement has accompanied the change. Nor has this centralization destroyed local interest nor prevented the active, efficient local administration of schools.

Further, this increase in the administrative powers of the State government has not resulted really in any greater centralization. For the prohibition of legislative interference in matters of administration has, where it has been successful, been accompanied by large grants of power to local administrative authorities. Thus, in Illinois, where the prohibition of special legislation has been unusually successful, the general Municipal Corporations Act gives to the city very large local powers. The most efficient factor in producing this result has been the power of the city under this law to practically determine the detailed municipal organization. The exercise of this power by the Legislature, as it has been shown, has been most fruitful of evil.

Without provision for large local powers, or for the exercise of the central control over cities by the administrative bodies of the State government all attempts to prohibit special legislation relative to cities have failed. They have failed because of the necessity of special action of some sort which shall make allowance for local needs, and because of the necessity of a State control of some sort over many of the functions discharged by cities.

The experience of Europe generally, and of England in particular, is then to the effect that cities, as local organs, must have large local powers, particularly the power to determine their detailed organization, and as State agents must be subjected to administrative control. Our own experience goes to show that when subjected to legislative control they are the playthings of political parties and incapable of efficient local government, and that the attempt merely to prohibit special legislation without taking the further step of granting large local powers and of subjecting them, where central control is necessary, to administrative control, is almost a flat failure.

AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR RELATION TO THE PROBLEM OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

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The historian of American political institutions will probably designate the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the period of municipal experimentation. The history of municipal institutions during this period negatives many of the accepted views of Anglo-Saxon conservatism. Changes of a radical character have been accepted with an ease and readiness departing widely from the traditions of our political life. To explain this seeming paradox with the statement that the American people are more open to change in their municipal than in their State and national institutional life, is to beg the question, rather than answer it. An analysis of the conditions of city life will show the presence of causes, deeply rooted in our political system, which fully explain the prevailing uncertainty as to the most effective organization of the municipality, as well as the great divergence of opinion on some of the fundamental questions of municipal policy. We have reached a point at which further progress has become dependent upon the clear recognition of these causes. To determine their nature, and, if possible, suggest the line of progressive evolution is the purpose of this paper.

The study of the institutions of ancient and modern communities has shown that the vigorous growth and healthful functional activity of any political system is dependent upon the

close adjustment of three factors—political ideas, political forms and political problems. A lack of harmony between any two of these soon becomes a source of weakness in the body politic. Real progress, as distinguished from temporary expedients, is to be measured by the degree of mutual adaptation.

The lack of definite civic standards and ideals, the absence of an intense city life, the failure to develop a distinctive form of municipal government and to establish definite relations between the municipality and the State, constitute the main counts in the indictment against our existing system. Whatever may be the proximate causes ascribed to these shortcomings, a close analysis will show, at the basis of each, a lack of adjustment between two of the factors above mentioned.

The relation between the *form* of city government and the *nature of city problems* is the first to demand our attention. Instead of organizing our municipalities with due reference to the problems with which they have to deal, we have consciously and unconsciously applied analogies taken from our State and national governments. The attempt is made to separate the executive from the legislative, on the ground that the plan has worked well in other parts of our political system. We must have an independent executive at all costs. The legislative organ is then divided into two branches, with a view of obtaining a system of self-acting guarantees against hasty or ill-advised action. In doing this we do not stop to think that city problems are primarily of an administrative, rather than of a political, character; that the conditions demanding an independent executive and justifying a bi-cameral legislative, are wanting. When, as in England of the eighteenth century, a system of guarantees to personal and property rights was being developed, the maintenance of the line of division between executive and legislative was essential to political progress. Where fundamental civil and political rights were at stake the "*checks and balances*" inherent in a bi-cameral Legislature constituted one of the elements of political strength. The adoption of these principles

of organization in our State and federal systems may be justified by the same set of considerations. As regards our city governments, however, none of these conditions are present. Neither the mayor nor councils can encroach upon the civil and political rights of the citizen. Furthermore, city conditions do not offer the possibility of a bi-cameral system in which each house shall rest on constituencies, or constituent districts different *in kind*. Yet this is the basic principle of any bi-cameral system. The result is that we get two branches of the local Legislature of much the same make-up, between which there is a constant shifting of responsibility. The situation is further complicated by the introduction of another generally accepted canon of political organization, *viz.*—that of district representation. Out of the dickerings of petty local interests we expect to develop a progressive municipal policy. The most cursory examination of municipal problems will show that they must be considered from the standpoint of the community viewed as a unit, and that the governmental machinery must be such as to favor rather than impede positive action. The greatest danger in our present municipal system is the lack of continuous and effective responsibility; not a responsibility enforced at stated intervals, but continuously applied to municipal organs. To endeavor to pit the different governmental bodies against one another is the surest means of diffusing responsibility and thereby courting the introduction of the baneful influences that have marred our municipal history.

Another instance of a complete failure of adjustment, and one closely connected with the preceding, is to be found in the relation existing between our political ideas and methods of political reasoning, on the one hand, and the form of municipal government on the other. I shall limit myself to one of the fundamental political ideas of the American people—that of popular government. The elective principle must pervade every branch of the governmental system in order to satisfy our idea of popular government. It is a principle which, for a long time, was

consistently applied throughout our municipal system. We proceeded on the assumption that the best means of insuring responsibility is through popular vote, completely ignoring the fact that for offices requiring preparatory professional and technical training, popular opinion *cannot* apply the proper standards nor popular vote enforce responsibility. The evils to which this abuse of the elective principle led have driven us, in the larger cities, to another system. But what is the nature of the change we have made? The elective principle, it is true, has been sacrificed in certain cases. A system of appointment of departmental heads by the mayor has been adopted. Instead, however, of recognizing that from the very nature of departmental work these officials must enjoy fixity of tenure, we have taken analogies from our Federal system. These officials, it is said, must be in harmony with the views of the mayor; they should constitute his cabinet. Each incoming mayor is expected to select persons of his own way of thinking. In fact, such change is regarded as one of the means of registering the will of the people. And yet, a little reflection will show that what is demanded of heads of departments is the ability to suggest the method of executing public works to the city council, and to carry out in the most economical and efficient manner the policy as determined by that body. But this is made practically impossible under the system of short tenure. It prevents the acquiring of that intimate knowledge of departmental work so necessary to efficient service and acts as a deterrent to the adoption of schemes of improvement extending over more than three or four years. It also leads to the supremacy of party considerations in the administration of municipal affairs.

The root of the evil lies in the application of the idea of responsibility to municipal affairs. That individual responsibility of some kind must exist goes without saying. But it is equally true that the responsibility in the administration of municipal departments is different in kind from that which must obtain in the administration of national affairs. In the former, few broad

questions of political policy upon which each individual may and actually does have an opinion are involved. The details of departmental administration in our cities can never be made the subject of intelligent judgment by the mass of electors. The result is that the efficiency of a departmental head is usually gauged by one or two subordinate facts which happened to attract the attention of the people. What form, then, shall departmental responsibility take? It may be necessary during a transition period, as suggested by Professor Goodnow, to make such heads of departments responsible to departmental boards, appointed by the mayor. The ultimate solution, however, will give us a system of direct responsibility to a comparatively small single-chambered council. In this way only can permanent heads of departments be held to continuous and effective responsibility. I am deeply conscious of the fact that this implied plea for the rehabilitation of the local representative body will be received, in many quarters, with a smile. And yet it is the only system which meets the requirements of modern democratic ideas and at the same time takes due cognizance of the intrinsic nature of the work in which our municipalities are engaged. In the last analysis, continuous and effective enforcement of responsibility depends upon the active civic standards of the community, standards which can readily be applied to a city council so organized as to prevent the frittering away of responsibility. Let us retain our elective mayor with independent powers. It is a system to which we are committed. But let us not degrade the elective council to a mere shadow of political existence. By doing this we remove the greatest incentive to continuous activity and alertness on the part of the citizen body—which is the price of all good government. The dangers involved in any other system are especially great in the United States, where the desire to construct self-acting, labor-saving devices extends to all departments of our national life. Many of the recent radical changes give evidence of a purpose to construct a mechanism of government which, once set in motion,

will run of its own inherent force, to be re-wound, or put on another track, every four years.

The discussion up to this point has had to do mainly with the organization of our municipal institutions. A question of far greater complexity remains to be considered. The proper adjustment of our civic and political standards to the conditions of city life is a matter of such fundamental importance that upon it the whole municipal problem may be said to rest. Viewed in this light, municipal reform becomes something more than a governmental problem. It assumes the proportions of a great social problem upon which the future of the race depends. That the city is something more than a mere aggregate of individuals, requires no further demonstration. But that the peculiar conditions developing out of such close aggregation demand a change in our civic and political standards is a fact which has not received such general recognition. An examination of the conditions of city life, especially in the large centres of population, will show the far reaching effects of two leading characteristics :

First—The close interdependence of the units and the sensitiveness of the whole body politic to the standards of individual action.

Secondly—The artificial character of the city environment.

The simple and elementary fact of the concentration of population within a comparatively small area brings with it the necessity of adapting individual conduct to such new conditions. A new concept of individual responsibility and of the possibilities of organized action must be developed.

But, what, it will be asked, is the nature of these higher civic standards ; and what circumstances or forces are to contribute to their development ? The usual answer to this question may be summarized as follows : " Once get the people to appreciate the fact that good city government pays, that the material advantages to be derived from the efficient performance of services will more than compensate the energy expended—

and your problem is solved." While I would fully recognize the importance of this factor in certain specific cases, I feel equally certain that it does not and *cannot* furnish the permanent basis for civic progress. Such advance must come, if it comes at all, from new standards of action, created through the recognition of the full meaning of a better city environment; and from the belief that the city contains within itself the possibility of the highest type of social life. Under such conditions, civic activity results, not from the balancing of effort and return, but rather from the new meaning, which the city, as an organic, and in many respects ideal, unit, has attained. If we stop for a moment to consider the motives underlying the devotion to natural honor and dignity, and the ever ready and willing sacrifice in the interest of the "home," the tremendous power of this civic force will be apparent. As yet, however, no such traditions and associations have clustered themselves about our American cities. I am inclined to believe that we have gone too far in making participation in city affairs a matter of profit and loss calculation. We are continually asking ourselves whether it pays to take an hour from business activity, or from family comforts, to be devoted to the good of our city. So long as the city represents little more than an ordinary private corporation, furnishing police protection, drainage, water, etc., a negative answer is to be expected from large sections of the population. Take the attitude of the great middle class. The tidiness of the household interior is a matter of great pride, but no esthetic or moral sense is disturbed by filthy streets, or if so, the disturbance is but momentary. The garden, or small backyard enjoyed in the seclusion of the family is weighed against a public park system, resulting in indifference to the latter. A public supply of pure water is balanced with the possibility of purchasing a private filter. The discomforts of the over-crowded street-car do not weigh heavily upon us because the ride represents the comparatively short period between the exclusiveness of the business and the isolation of the home. I am fully aware

that these facts imply many admirable qualities, but they also show grave defects in our civic life. To supply the deficiency is at present the primary problem of American city life. Is it possible for the community to adopt, consciously, a policy favoring the growth of the new civic standards, or are we entirely dependent upon the play of natural forces, the slow process of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest?

The answer to this question would necessitate an exhaustive examination of the conditions of the city environment, the process of natural selection and the probability of the survival of a higher type through the operation of this process. Whatever future investigation may show, our present knowledge of the process of social evolution points to possibilities in municipal activity which have been completely neglected in most of the American cities. By far the strongest force at the disposal of the municipality is the influence of organized effort on the standard of life of the community. When combined with this we have the clear recognition by the citizen body of the influence thus exerted, an irresistible force making for civic progress is at work. The possibilities here involved were strongly impressed upon me during a recent tour of English and Scotch cities. Their experience is of particular value to us, because of the great similarity in environmental conditions. Even the casual observer cannot help but feel that the British town population is developing a new concept of municipal activity, that it has begun to realize that upon the concerted action of the community depends, to a very large extent, the kind of life which the mass of the community is to lead. The first glimpse of the truth of this fact brings with it a new attitude toward the city. Two classes of activities are of special importance in this respect:

First—Those directly modifying the environment, and thus indirectly influencing the standard of life.

Secondly—Those directly affecting the standard through the offering of new services or commodities.

As regards the first of these, we have to deal with what

must be recognized as the leading factor in social evolution—the environment. While in the animal world the adaptation of purely natural conditions and the unrestricted struggle for existence may be necessary to preserve “the speed of the antelope undiminished and the sight of the eagle undimmed,” the moment we enter the field of human society, we have the struggle modified at many points, due to the development of social instincts, groupal and class feelings. And it is well that it is so, for as Professor Huxley has shown, evolution does not necessarily mean progress, nor is the cosmic process necessarily identical with the ethical process. With the growth of social relations incident to the development of city life, man becomes, to an increasing extent, the product of social, as distinguished from purely natural, forces. His mental and moral traits are still largely determined by the environment, but it is an environment furnished him by the community rather than by nature. This view of the subject carries with it a new element of responsibility. If the city environment is to determine the character of the city man, the importance of making the environment favorable to the development of the highest type becomes apparent. Everyone will admit that it is within the power of the municipality to modify, to an indefinite extent, the character of its environment. Of this fact the history of Paris furnishes a striking instance. The reconstruction of many portions of the city during the Second Empire has been the means of developing in the population that artistic appreciation which distinguishes the population of Paris from that of the other large cities of the civilized world. It has, furthermore, developed that devotion to the city which constitutes the most inspiring element in the life of the French capital. Whatever may be the shortcomings in the political life of the French nation, there is a sensitiveness and alertness of public opinion in city affairs which is foreign to our American cities. In this process the environment, as formed by the community in its organized capacity—the splendid avenues and boulevards, the dignified and imposing public build-

ings, the judicious distribution of parks, etc.—has played the most important part. And this, notwithstanding the fact that many important services have been neglected by the municipality. Paris does not offer a model to be imitated in every detail, but it does furnish the most striking instance of the influence of the objective environment on civic activity. In a word, the environment may be made the most potent factor in moral and esthetic education, or it may exert a degrading and enervating influence. We have an excellent illustration of the truth of this principle in the activity of some of the English and Scotch cities under the "Housing of the Working Classes Act". In Glasgow, Birmingham, London, etc., great districts have been remodeled and rebuilt by the municipalities, thus creating a new environment for large classes of the population, an environment which has re-acted with great force upon the mode of life of the population immediately affected, and indirectly, upon the civic life of the community as a whole.

I take as one, from a great number of available instances, the Bethnal Green Improvement, recently completed under the direction of the London County Council. In this district of the East End, an area of some fifteen acres of closely built-up slum property was expropriated, the buildings demolished, and a new city built upon the cleared area. Streets sixty feet wide, arranged upon the radial plan, model tenement houses, complete in every detail, a common laundry and reading room and other social institutions have been provided. In short, the possibility of a new and higher mode of life has been offered to the population. The environment calls for higher standards, to which the population will always respond; in fact, from the very conditions of the case *must* respond. Parks and playgrounds exert influences of exactly the same character. Instead of the gutter or alley, with the kind of amusements which they permit, a new and wider freedom is given to the child. The saloon need no longer furnish the only cheerful environment to the adult.

In the administration of city services, especially the municipal industrial enterprises, similar ends must be kept in view. In our American cities the gas and street railway services have never been viewed in the light of their social function. The former, while in many cases under direct municipal management, has been controlled by purely financial considerations. The latter has been uniformly managed by private corporations. Here, again, the recent experience of English cities is extremely significant. The street railway systems of Glasgow and Sheffield, which are under direct municipal management, are being used as a means of effecting a better distribution of population. The rates of fare are so adjusted as to offer direct inducement to the laboring classes to move into outlying districts instead of congregating in the central and already overcrowded portions. The one and two-cent fares during the early morning and evening hours have been the means of bringing large numbers into a new environment. Recently the city has decided to go one step further in offering model tenements in the peripheral districts. This may seem a dangerous extension of function, and yet it is but the logical outcome of a recognition of the true relation of the community to its environment. In the administration of the gas service similar ends have been pursued, although not always with the same conscious purpose. The use of gas in England, amongst the working classes, is not so general as in the United States, a fact which does not affect the general principle. In order to make its use an integral part of the standard of life it was necessary to sacrifice, to a certain extent, the purely financial end. To effect the introduction of a new commodity into the standard of life it is necessary that the utility of that commodity should exceed its cost to a degree greater than that of some one of the elements making up the existing standard. In other words, the commodity must appear more desirable to the individual than some other he has been in the habit of purchasing. Every inducement to use gas for both heating and light-

ing purposes was offered. The price was gradually reduced, until at the present time :

Glasgow	offers gas at 58 cents * per 1000 cubic feet.
Bradford	" " " 58 " " " " "
Manchester	" " " 56 " " " " "
Leeds	" " " 54 " " " " "

As an additional inducement penny-in-the-slot meters were introduced in most of the cities, of which Leeds has 1300 in operation, Birmingham 2000, and Manchester 11,500. A similar policy is now being adopted in the electric light service.

I have dwelt at some length upon the influence of municipal activity upon the environment, because of its special importance at the present time. The marvelous increase in productive capacity, during the century, has become one of the common-places of economic discussion. With this there has come a corresponding rise in the income of all classes. The question as to which class was benefited most by the change is here irrelevant. That the average income of each class is higher than at the beginning of the century has been abundantly proven. Not only has the average income increased, but the hours of labor, especially of the laboring classes, have been steadily diminishing.

For the first time in the history of modern countries leisure has become a reality to all classes. This is particularly true in the large cities, where, with the shortest working day, we have combined the highest average income. While this increase of income has been dwelt upon by many writers, but little attention has been given to the use made of the leisure thus acquired. We have hardly begun to realize the extent to which its use is dependent on the opportunities offered by the community, and how closely it is bound up with the character of the environment. With an unfavorable environment leisure inevitably becomes the source of racial degeneracy and social disintegration. Under favorable conditions, on the other hand, it constitutes one of the strongest forces making for progress. At a certain stage in

* The shilling is valued at 25 cents in this table.

social evolution the possibility of leisure becomes the condition requisite to further progress. The manner of its use will determine whether the community is to take the next step in progressive evolution or whether the temptations which leisure brings with it will lead to retrogression and ultimate dissolution. Viewed in this light, the judicious distribution of parks, play and recreation grounds, the adjustment of street-railway fares with a view to promoting travel, the creation of a system of municipal theaters offering the best that dramatic literature affords—all of these institutions, and many more, acquire a new significance. When the failure to provide a proper environment leads to the development of forces endangering the future of the race, the question of municipal activity becomes one of fundamental importance. When the creation of new municipal institutions means a new *mode* of life, and with it a new *view* of life for the large mass of the community, the question of the attitude of the population toward the city and its government is one upon which future progress depends.

The city is no longer regarded as a necessary evil. It is recognized as the accompanying factor of all civilization. Only under the conditions of city life can the possibilities of human development be realized. But this does not mean that the city should be a monotonous succession of narrow and depressing thoroughfares, that every available open space should be covered with flaring signs, that at every street corner there should be a saloon, and that every individual should be permitted to give free range to his fancy in the erection of dwellings. Through the ruralization of the city, through the erection of imposing and inspiring public buildings, through a change in the immediate environment of the poorer classes, and, finally, through the acceptance of the social standard in the performance of municipal services, a new conception of municipal activity, and with it of city life, will be attained.

The question of greatest interest in this connection, one which is fundamental to the view of the subject here outlined, is

the ultimate effect of this view of municipal services on the civic standards and activities of the community. The great problem of the social reformer, it has been said, is to get the people to use their imagination. John Stuart Mill put this in another form when he said that "one person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests." The belief in the possibility of a higher type of civic life can only come from the creation of new ideals. The primary elements of such ideals must be found in existing conditions. In other words, the individual must find the primary elements in existing municipal services and institutions. He is then in a position to make new combinations, to add new elements to such combinations, and, finally, to picture to himself an ideal city environment. The first effects of this change will be of a negative character. The community will no longer tolerate methods of action which are now regarded with indifference. A new sensitiveness which is the necessary prerequisite to higher standards will be developed. The overcrowded street car, the advertisement-covered fence, the chimney-like sky-scraper, the filthy alleyways, will arouse the active condemnation of the community. Opinion will thus reach its true position as a great social force in city life. From these more negative standards there will be a gradual transition to, or, as is more probable, a gradual accretion of, positive standards. As the home, the church, the club, the voluntary political organization demand and are cheerfully given time, energy and devotion, so will the new civic standards based upon these city ideals demand and guarantee that devotion to the public good upon which the future of American city life and the efficient working of all forms of government must ultimately depend.

THE LEGISLATURE IN STATE AND CITY : 1797-1897.

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To an American the fundamental powers of government are naturally divided into three distinct departments : The Legislature, the Executive, the Judiciary. To insure that neither of these great departments should override the other the American scheme of government as devised by the " fathers " provided that each of them should be so constituted that it could act as a check upon the other, while, as the final supreme authority over all three branches as to all the matters of which it treats, was placed a written Constitution emanating directly from the people. The Judiciary was charged with the specific duty of interpreting the Constitution and deciding in any given instance whether the people's fundamental rights as therein expressed had been violated.

One hundred years ago this scheme of government was the highest and best result which centuries of political struggle had evolved, and the men who framed it obtained and deserved unstinted commendation. The framework of every State government in the United States has been made upon this model. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of the results in the legislative branch of the government of the practical test of a century's experience as illustrated in one of the oldest, as it is admittedly the most populous and wealthiest, of the States—New York—and in the two chief cities of that State.

While it is plain that when our national Constitution was adopted there was a deeply seated conviction that carefully de-

vised restrictions upon the exercise of power by the rulers of the State were necessary, it was not the abuse of power by the Legislature or the encroachment by the legislative branch of the government upon the liberties of the people that so much engaged the attention or aroused the prescient anxiety of the wise men who framed that instrument.

The Legislature, when the United States became a nation, was that branch of the government which was specially and peculiarly the representative of the people. The legislator was the choice of the people; his title and authority were their gift, not the prerogative of birth or caste. To the Legislature was committed the sole power of initiative as to all laws and the decision of the question as to what should be law. The judiciary was to expound and the executive to administer the law, but the Legislature was to make the law. Within the very wide limits of the Constitution it might disregard or override the executive action and it could even destroy the value of judicial decisions as precedents. The people's liberties were to be guarded and the people's interests to be fostered by their own representatives.

This precious right of governing themselves by a representative body of their own selection had been the goal toward which the people had unceasingly fought their way through ages of suffering. Representative government and free government seemed synonymous. There was no question as to where the supreme of all governmental powers should be; the power to tax and to spend the proceeds of taxation was unhesitatingly committed to the Legislature as the people's representative. It was here alone that this chiefest power of all, the power without which there can be no government, could be safely lodged. This had been the lesson of history. In all ages revolutions within the government and revolutions of the government have pivoted on the question where the power to tax should be lodged and how the power itself should be exercised. This power has been so liable to abuse that its exercise may be said invariably to have led to abuse sooner or later; and the taxpayer had sooner or

later risen in revolt at the abuse, or if the taxpayer has been too feeble or too spiritless to revolt, the government itself has fallen into decay. Disputes with regard to the taxing power—where it should be lodged, under what restrictions, and for what purposes it should be exercised—make up in the last analysis the history of the internal political struggles of the English-speaking people, and have been not seldom a controlling factor in determining questions of foreign policy. And rightly so; for the power to tax is the supreme power; where is the power to tax is the power to ruin. Who shall tax was the subject of the Magna Charta—the great charter. The struggle lasted for centuries. The king claimed the right to tax according to his will. The Commons claimed the right to interpose their will. The people claimed the right to representation in the Commons because the people were to pay the taxes. Taxation without representation was the grievance which led to the American Revolution.

No taxation without representation finally became at once the watchword of liberty and a maxim of sound political doctrine. Both in England and in this country the extension of the suffrage was demanded upon the basis of the self-evident soundness of this principle, and at this very time the women are demanding the extension of the franchise to them because they as much as the men are taxpayers and therefore are entitled to a direct representation in the government. It may, I think, be safely said that no article of political doctrine has been more firmly believed or more explicitly avowed as a part of our democratic creed than that the power to tax must be lodged in a representative body elected from and responsible to the people. The observance of this principle has been deemed a condition of free democratic institutions.

How far has our practical experience during the past hundred years justified the belief in the wisdom of entrusting the people's interests and the people's liberties to the legislative care? Or, rather, how far have we in this country, step by

step and without any especial consciousness of abandoning in any degree the fundamental doctrines of the political creed of the "fathers," proceeded on the road that leads, if not to the abolition of the Legislature, to the confining of its power within constantly narrowing limits and to the transfer of its most important functions to other branches of the government or to newly-invented agencies found to be safer in practice and under the actual circumstances.

The political history of the various States furnishes a vast amount of material to help us in answering these questions. The abuse by the Legislature of the great power originally lodged in it under the theory of popular democratic government has led to a popular distrust which, as each successive State constitutional convention meets, finds it necessary, in order to protect popular rights, not seldom to increase the power of the executive, and invariably to add more and more to the constitution, thus increasing the power of the judiciary, and to take more and more from the power of the Legislature. The popular branch of the government is the most discredited branch; and the older the State, the more populous, the more complex and diversified its interests, the greater its wealth; in a word the more completely it exemplifies the special characteristics of the modern industrial civilization, the more discredited is the Legislature. The theory of popular supervision and control by frequent elections and short terms of office, and the theory that the legislator derives his authority directly from the people have not prevented the popular distrust. Our political history shows that, alike in the case of the national, the State and the local legislatures, there has been a constantly growing abuse of the power of taxation, and a constant popular agitation to restrict or diminish its exercise by the Legislature. There can be no doubt but that if a national constitutional convention were called to-day it would not adjourn before it had placed in the constitution very radical limitations upon the power of Congress.

The popular distrust of State and municipal legislatures has expressed itself very forcibly and very effectively. New York may be taken as an example. New York is the most populous of the States, it is also the wealthiest. Its industries are the most varied. It contains the metropolis of the country and one of the chief cities of the world. The typical conditions of modern industrial life are found more perfectly in New York and its principal city than anywhere else in our Republic. Those conditions are vastly different from the ones that obtained in colonial times, or later, when the United States became a nation. How have our democratic-republican institutions adapted themselves to these new conditions?

In New York City, and the same is true of Brooklyn—indeed, the two cities are practically one, whose legal union has only recently been formally announced—the democratic-republican institutions of our fathers have become a mayor with power so great that the “fathers” would have shuddered at the very thought of it, a local elective legislature with practically no power, a small board (of whose five members the mayor and his appointees are the majority) as the taxing and spending municipal authority, while such other local legislative power as there is is distributed among the various department heads, none of them elective, and all of them appointees of the mayor. This is the outcome of one hundred years of civic experience in the principal city of the United States of America. Under the so-called Greater New York charter, which will go into effect the 1st day of January, 1898, the situation in the respects noted will be the same, save that the local legislature, called the Municipal Assembly, will, while that charter remains unchanged, have certain obstructive powers, whose exercise will be watched with interest by every student of municipal problems, and there will also be another non-elective, but appointed body, the Board of Public Improvement, to decide in the first instance in regard to many matters which the title of the Board sufficiently indicates. We shall have a city of three millions of American free-

men without any popular representative body to perform important legislative functions, and the supreme power of all, the power to tax and to spend, vested in a small board not under the supervision or control of the people, or directly responsible to the people, though the annual tax budget will amount to seventy or seventy-five millions of dollars.

This is what democratic-republican government has come to in the city. How is it with the State? What has been the effect upon the State Legislature of the century's experience? Without any conscious desire to overthrow any of the cherished ideas of the "fathers," and to this day loudly proclaiming the indubitable virtues of their political doctrine as essential to civic freedom, but because of the disastrous effects to the public of permitting the popular representative branch of the government to possess power, the people, in the successive State constitutions have, step by step, changed the old order of things, and always in the direction of taking away powers from the Legislature, and of surrounding with new safeguards the exercise of the power that has been left. The State is still far behind the city in this respect, but it is traveling in the same direction. A few references to the restrictions imposed upon the Legislature by the constitution of New York will illustrate this.

To conserve the rights of the public, private and local bills are forbidden in a number of enumerated and important instances (III, Sec. 18), and general bills for these purposes are placed under careful restrictions; (*id.*) and where a private or local bill is permitted it must embrace but "one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title" (Sec. 16). The legislative procedure is regulated in important respects: Bills must be printed in their final form and on the desks of members three calendar legislative days before final passage (Sec. 15); a two-thirds vote of members elected to each house is requisite in case of a bill appropriating money or property for local or private purposes (Sec. 20); no public money can be paid except under an appropriation by law and within two years next after

such law is enacted, and the law must in terms specify the sum and the object (Sec. 21); each provision in the annual supply bill must relate specifically to and in its operation be limited strictly to some particular appropriation mentioned in the bill (Sec. 22); every law which imposes, continues or revives a tax must specify the particular tax and its purpose distinctly and not by reference to some other law (Sec. 24); a yea and nay vote and three-fifths of all members elected are necessary to a quorum on the final passage of any act which imposes, continues or revives any appropriation of public or trust money or property, or releases, discharges or commutes any claim or demand of the State (Sec. 25).

The credit of the State shall not be given or loaned to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation (VII, Sec. 1). The Legislature, to meet casual deficits or failures in revenues or for expenses not provided for, may incur debts; but these debts, direct or contingent, singly or in the aggregate, shall not exceed \$1,000,000 (Sec. 2), unless in case of invasion, insurrection or to defend the State in war (Sec. 3), and money raised for one of these purposes must be devoted to no other purpose. Except as just stated, the Legislature can contract no debt save under the following restrictions: A law must be passed distinctly specifying some single work or object for which the debt is to be contracted; the law must provide a tax which will extinguish the debt, principal and interest, within eighteen years; the law itself must be ratified by popular vote at a general election; at least three months must intervene between the passage of the law and the general election, and no other law or bill nor any amendment to the constitution shall be submitted to the people at the general election when the question of approving or disapproving this law is submitted (Sec. 4).

These are merely sample provisions. No doubt similar ones are to be found in all the later constitutions of other States. But why should such provisions be in the constitution at all? Why should not the Legislature be trusted to regulate

its own procedure? What propriety is there in placing in a constitution a regulation that the people's representatives in Legislature assembled must print all bills at least three days before a final vote? Is not the Legislature composed of representatives elected from the body of the people and charged with the duty of guarding the property and interests of the public? Why, then, should the constitution forbid the Legislature to incur any debt without submitting the proposition to the people themselves for discussion and obtaining the people's proposition?

Do not these and many other instances that might be cited from State constitutions, such as the right of the executive to veto single items in appropriation bills, the limitation of the length of legislative sessions, and the forbidding of any legislative sessions oftener than once in two years, furnish abundant reasons for saying that there is grave popular distrust of our Legislatures? The State Legislature as an ever-present and interfering element in the conduct of the city's business is another ground of popular dissatisfaction. One of the coming constitutional restrictions will drive the Legislature from this field as it has been driven from so many others and for the same reasons.

Not only has the field of legislative action been steadily narrowed, but there has been a progressive deterioration in the personnel of the legislators. In the case of a purely local legislature, such as the Board of Aldermen in New York City, which is significant merely as a historical survival with no discretion and no power of initiation, such deterioration is to be expected. But our State Legislature would seem to have still a sufficiently wide jurisdiction to be attractive to able men. Here one might suppose we should still have a deliberative assembly. But by a perfectly logical and easily understood evolution under natural laws the deliberative functions of the Legislature as conceived by the "fathers" have absolutely ceased to exist for many purposes. It registers as automatically the will of a third party and

as little the result of its own deliberations as the Electoral College. The form of a Legislature survives, but the substance and the spirit have vanished. A short time ago the Legislature of New York was assembled to elect a United States Senator. Was there any discussion? No; the legislators voted. The occasion did not seem to them to require anything else. In March of this year there was presented to the consideration of the Legislature the proposed charter of the "Greater New York," which was to provide for the government of three millions of people, soon to be a much greater number, the most stupendous governmental problem presented in the history of this country since the adoption of the national Constitution. Every organized body of intelligent public opinion in the city, including those in favor of creating the greater city as well as those opposed to it, was unanimous in pronouncing the charter imperfect, crude, cumbrous, obscure, and in many respects positively dangerous, and in requesting opportunity for thorough discussion. What did the people's chosen representatives, the Legislature, do? They simply voted. Heedless of the popular protest and without debate, they thrust the crude, ill-devised law upon the statute book. These are not solitary instances. The legislative practice they illustrate is very familiar in New York. It is called "jamming."

Briefly, the legislative situation in New York is this:

The State Legislature is occupying an ever narrowing field, under increasingly stringent constitutional limitations, and the legislative powers within those limitations is exercised by one man, or a small self-constituted group, through dummies who are still in name representatives of the people. This is absolutism, partially concealed under the forms of popular government. In the city there is but the simulacrum of a legislature, with no taxing or spending power whatever, and all local legislative authority is distributed among various appointed boards. To secure relief from bad city government there has been an effort to concentrate responsibility, and to this end the powers

of the executive have been so far increased, that, within a generation, if the same causes continue, the mayor will be an absolute ruler, exercising all municipal authority directly, or through agents of his own selection. This will be absolutism, frankly acknowledged, and made part of the fundamental framework of government.

New York is not different from her sister States save in typifying somewhat more completely the conditions of the modern civilization under which government must be conducted. Is then the theory of democratic-republican institutions wrong? Or is there something wrong with the methods the "fathers" devised for preserving them? Is the inevitable tendency of democracy, under the conditions of modern industrial life, which find their consummation in dense populations living within limited areas, to abolish popular government through representative legislative bodies? Is absolutism, tempered by change in the personnel of the czar, the natural outcome of our form of civilization? or are we a spiritless and sordid folk, indifferent as to our rulers until our pocket nerves throbs with pain?

Certain it is that the legislative or popular branch of our government is the most discredited branch, and the more recent the State constitution, the more stringent the limitations upon the exercise of power by the Legislature. In many of our cities the local legislature has wholly disappeared, or is vanishing, and other agencies are doing the legislative work, while the interference by State Legislatures in city affairs augments local misgovernment, and adds to the popular demand for further limitations upon the power of the Legislature. This marks a distinct tendency which may well supply material for thought to the citizen who looks at all into the future. Nowhere, as is natural, is the tendency so marked as where the population is dense and all the characteristics of our industrial civilization most prominent. There the strain upon our democratic-republican institutions is most severe and it is just there that they have either broken down or perhaps been wholly abandoned.

English political experience in the respects noted has been very different from our own.

The American revolution marks not only the founding of our national life, but it was in England a part of the struggle to free parliament from the domination of the crown. The nineteenth century has been characterized in English political life by the constant spread of democratic principles, and by the expansion of the power of the legislative branch of the government as the representative of those principles. In England the legislature has been under no restriction from a written constitution, the judiciary is its subordinate, and it has absorbed the principal powers of the executive. The system of checks and balances which our fathers deemed essential to free institutions is notably lacking under English rule, and a marked characteristic of the political evolution in England has been the increasing supremacy of the popular representative branch of the government. The legislature has steadily grown more and more representative of the people. There is no general popular distrust of the legislature in England, and each session of Parliament is as free as one of our constitutional conventions to deal with the fundamental rights and liberties of the people.

England's civilization has been as markedly industrial as our own. The characteristics of modern industrial life are typified, if possible, more completely in the cities of Great Britain than in our own cities. The serious problems of municipal administration began there at approximately the same time as here. In the English cities to-day, in strong contrast to our own cities, the local legislature is paramount; in the English cities it is through the beneficent activity of the local legislature, representing local needs and local aspirations, that the great advances already achieved in good city government have been made and that still further progress is confidently expected.

The government of American cities is, on the whole, a conspicuous failure; the government of English cities, a conspicuous success.

The contrasted results of the civic experiences of the century in English and American politics teach many lessons, and no investigator of our municipal problem can afford to disregard them or to dismiss their study with the shallow comment that it is the slightly restricted suffrage there and the unlimited manhood suffrage here which constitutes the differential cause of the widely differing results in municipal administration.

The partisanship of the English electors is as bitter and political party feeling runs as high in England as among the voters of our own country. But partisanship stops with questions of political policy. It does not concern itself with matters of administration; and municipal government is recognized as in the main an administrative problem. Hence in the national field there is no politics in the administration of the national business; and in the local fields the municipal civil service is kept equally free from the taint of spoils without any law on the statute book.

Each English city governs itself. No overlord interferes with it; and there is no appeal to an outside providence to relieve the citizens from the burden of self-government. There is not only genuine home rule, but there is no escape from it. I do not mean home rule in the sense that there is no central supervising authority whatever, and that each English city is an unrelated unit whose affairs are managed without due reference to the general interests of the country. But this central authority is one of supervision, not of arbitrary interference; it is administrative supervision, not legislative meddling. Within the local sphere is substantial, genuine home rule.

The voters by the simplest of electoral machinery at the minimum of personal effort are guaranteed the selection of their own representative committee to manage the affairs of the city. An English city is governed, or, to speak more correctly, in England city business is conducted by a large committee the members of which are chosen by, and are accountable to, the local electorate. No appeal to king or Parliament will help the

people ; no act of king or Parliament will attempt to relieve the people from the evil consequences of a careless or sinister exercise of their guaranteed right to select their own committee of local administration. There is no elaborate system of checks and balances ; there is no written constitution ; but the people of each locality are given full opportunity for good local government, and are then left unaided and unpitied to suffer the evils they themselves permit, or enjoy the good they themselves create. The people's committee, the local legislature, has large powers and enjoys universal popular confidence.

English political experience would seem to show that genuine local self-government is not only safe, but is an effective means for securing good, and even brilliantly successful, municipal administration ; that left to rely upon its own unaided efforts and unhampered by outside interference, the city's electorate is amply competent for the solution of the so-called municipal problem ; that this problem is solved in England as one of business administration ; that the English municipal civil service is efficient without the stimulus of partisan reward or punishment ; that a local legislature clothed with paramount authority as to all local matters retains the popular confidence and conducts the city's business efficiently.

This brief paper has not attempted the discussion of causes or remedies. Its purpose has been rather to ask questions than to answer them ; to suggest lines of fruitful inquiry rather than to formulate curative prescriptions. In especial it has aimed to stimulate and broaden investigation ; for municipal reform work of a permanent and effective character demands much more than excellent intentions and disinterested activity. If we still hold to the faith of our fathers, and would have that faith exemplified in something better than the degenerate works of their descendants, we shall accomplish little without *both* careful study *and* well directed efforts. Neither sordid indifference, nor heedless optimism, nor misdirected energy, nor blind partisanship, will create or continue good government ; but the pains-

taking search for the truth, a wholesome respect for facts, an alert and discriminating opportunism, unflagging effort towards high and realizable ideals—these are what we need.

And to my mind, in the municipal field, especially in the smaller cities, we can accomplish the results most fruitful of good for the future of free institutions, the creation, shall I say the re-creation, of a real democratic republic. Let us set in order the cities of our residence, place their government upon a sound basis, and the future of our country is safe. Within the lifetime of those now living the cities will rule the States and the nation.

THE EXCLUSION OF PARTISAN POLITICS FROM MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS: THE DEMOCRATIC- EUROPEAN METHOD.

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It is commonly asserted and generally believed that partisan politics is the bane of municipal government in America.

The misgovernment of our cities certainly is due largely to the fact that the choice of public servants is determined by a contest for party supremacy rather than by just discrimination between the qualifications of opposing candidates. The growth of the civil service reform idea, its acceptance by all friends of good government of whatever shades of opinion on other subjects, shows a general recognition of the baneful influence of partisan politics.

But many, perhaps an increasing number, even of those who have been foremost in the civil service reform movement, and who presumably believe in its efficiency, incline to discourage the hopes entertained by others that conditions can be bettered by a change of electoral or administrative methods.

It is so often said as to be almost a commonplace at our League meetings, not only that municipal ills are due to a lack of civic spirit among Americans, but that nothing is to be hoped for through improved methods until in some way, not very definitely stated, the people are first made better. We are again reminded, and now by reformers, as well as anti-reformers, that under a democratic-republican system the government of a city cannot reasonably be expected to rise above the level of its average citizen. Some of our most sincere reformers,

without assuming to antagonize any proposed measure labeled reform, and while giving intellectual assent, presumably, to such schemes, at least, as the Australian system of voting, the separation of municipal from national and State elections, or say a genuine corrupt practices act, are seemingly as skeptical of the efficacy of improved methods as the most pronounced spoils politician.

I have had occasion more than once to antagonize this, to me, somewhat pessimistic conclusion. Yet I would not have it thought that my dissent is based upon any lack of appreciation of the deplorable situation which inspires the skepticism, nor yet again upon any delusion as to the supposed efficacy of one form of government rather than another to raise the standard of municipal administration above the standard of the average citizen.

It has been said, and well said, that "there is a soul of truth in all things erroneous," and in so far as the skepticism of the reformer or politician tends to obliterate the mistaken idea that a government can be made permanently better than the people, from whom all power emanates, in so far as this skepticism justified.

But more than this, and perhaps of equal interest to many of us, is the plaint of the skeptic regarding the failure of "revised" city charters to cure municipal ills. We have been told, and may have come to believe, that a sure panacea for these ills was to be found in the concentration of power and responsibility in a single executive, and the administration of all city departments by his appointees. This scheme was the product of the best thought (so-called) of the day, and is conspicuously noteworthy as an attempted application of the Carlylian strong-man theory to the conditions associated with a republican form of government. The result has been, unfortunately, that our strong men have too often been lacking in truly heroic qualities, as were some of the Carlylian heroes, and their administrations have not infrequently been disappointing. To such

of our skeptics as have insisted, who sincerely believe, that this Carlylian, or federal, system, as it is sometimes called, is the ideal system for the government of a municipality; who have staked their all, as it were, on the concentration of responsibility, it is perhaps not surprising that the fault should seem to be wholly with the people whose votes decided the election. So, too, with those of an opposite political faith who favor executive boards, or single or double legislative chambers, as the case may be, and find that their plans have come to naught; or perhaps, just possibly, with the enthusiastic advocates of proportional representation, who, while absolutely certain of the logical correctness of one or more of their various systems, find that somehow none of them work in this country as they are said to work in Europe. It is not surprising, perhaps, that to one or all of these, who include most of our reformers, the fault seems to lie with the American voter.

That such is not the conclusion reached here may easily be inferred; but inasmuch as we have deprecated any assumption that by change of method a government can be made better than the average voter, how are we to escape the pessimistic conclusion? Hardly by the assertion, the advocacy, of some new plan or system which is to do what other well devised schemes have failed to accomplish, although it is believed that there still remains something to be said from that point of view. Obviously the only loophole of escape offered is by the iconoclast who may break down some barrier, if such there be, which obstructs our progress.

It is believed, earnestly and sincerely believed, that such a barrier exists; that here is the root of our difficulty, and that to this barrier, rather than to the American's alleged lack of civic spirit, is to be attributed the lamentable misgovernment of our cities, and in a lesser degree of many of the States, and even of the nation. It is believed, and is here asserted, that our bad city government, bad as compared with that of European cities, is due to an institution peculiarly American, an institution *not* of

European origin, and which so far as known, has no substantial rooting in any European country—the institution which alone enables the party boss to establish and perpetuate partisan government, and without which he would be relatively powerless; an institution which more than all else defeats the repeated and continued efforts of patriotic citizens to elect independent tickets.

In short, the continued partisan control and consequent mismanagement of our cities, are due to that peculiarly American institution, the party caucus.

There has not been wanting a general though somewhat indefinite recognition of the inherent vice of the caucus system, but the growing adverse sentiment has thus far found expression in denunciation of what has been termed, I think incautiously, the abuses of the caucus. In response to this sentiment there is now a growing demand for a reform in caucus methods, and in this State of Kentucky, and perhaps elsewhere, the sentiment has crystalized into a statute which certainly seems well calculated to correct some of the more glaring abuses. But this reform, while important, is not of immediate importance from the point of view from which we are approaching the subject, because the caucus, good or bad, implies a recognition of partisan politics, which has been deprecated as the bane of American municipal government.

It may be doubted, I think, whether the American reformer, the non-partisan, the supporter of civil service reform, and of the various schemes, well or ill-advised, to which allusion has been made, and of which the objective point has been to minimize the evils of partisanship, have realized just what they have been fighting. If, as some would have us believe, the real obstacle be an ingrained vice in the national character which makes the American a partisan irrespective of moral considerations, then, indeed, is the labor the reformer of little avail. But, if, on the other hand, the great obstacle be, as I believe, a system purely and distinctively American, which has the effect

of dividing the voters into two or more hostile camps, and without which system the hostile division would be impracticable, then, indeed, is there hope and a chance for earnest work. But some one may say, if the fault be not with the American voter, if he be not a natural irrepressible partisan, he would vote for the independent candidates when presented for his suffrage, and thus defeat the politician ! Some one does say this, many say it ; in fact this idea is at the foundation of much of the reformer's cynicism regarding the American voter ; and yet were it not that the idea is fathered by such eminently respectable authority I should hesitate to present it as a respectable excuse for what I must deem an ill-judged, unwarranted skepticism. For here let it be noted that in real political emergencies in the nation, the State, and oftentimes, many times, in the city, where a clear cut issue has been definitely presented, the conscience of the American voter has decided the issue, and decided it rightly. It may suffice for illustration at this time to note such triumphs as the election of Mayor Strong, in New York, and the indorsement of civil service reform by the popular vote of the confessedly wickedest city in the Union. But such illustrations, while suggestive, do not present the case in that aspect from which it must be viewed if we would have a clear understanding of the situation.

It is an important fact to be noted and kept in mind that not only most municipal elections do not present clear cut moral issues, but that, in the great majority of cases, the candidate who receives the regular party nomination is not a viciously disposed man, and but rarely has a record which points indubitably to that conclusion. He may not be, he usually is not, more than a mediocre man, but the average voter who calls himself a Republican or a Democrat is not easily persuaded, because of that fact alone, to desert his party ticket, which means for him a departure from the usual and generally recognized method of procedure and almost like treason. It is not that he is lacking in civic spirit ; not that his action is prompted

by any unworthy motive ; but simply that he does not perceive how better results are to be attained by his voting other than as a partisan. The position to him is very much like that which confronts most of us on election day when we have simply a choice between two evils—between two opposing ring nominated tickets.

But, it is said, why does not the voter attend the caucus, and thus insure good nominations? The answer is, simply because it is useless, and for the conclusive reason that the type of citizen who has no desire for office, except for the purpose of serving his constituency, will not be put in the position of scrambling for the nomination with the office seeker. While he may be willing to take a nomination, or serve if elected, he rarely can be persuaded to seek that which he does not want, and the consequence is that the nomination goes to him who seeks it for "what there is in it." There is, also, the further and very sufficient reason, that participation in the caucus implies to most men an agreement to abide by the result, which means nothing short of self-stultification when an unworthy nomination chances to be made.

In extraordinary emergencies, as we have seen, the conscience vote will control both the primaries and the election, but on ordinary occasions, when the public conscience is not aroused, control is yielded to the politician, for the reasons stated.

It is important to keep this distinction in mind because if the American people were lacking in moral fiber the cause would indeed be hopeless. If, on the other hand, it be the fact, as it surely is, that the average citizen ordinarily votes his party ticket, and ordinarily absents himself from the caucus simply in pursuance of long established custom, and because he does not clearly perceive how any different action on his part will profit either himself or his fellow-citizens, the question at once arises before us, as municipal reformers, whether our efforts are to be confined to lecturing the obtuse voter for his alleged lack of civic spirit, or whether we shall also direct our attacks against the sys-

tem which alone makes partisan control of municipal affairs possible. It is not that we should overlook or seek to minimize the urgent need of educating the voter to an understanding and appreciation of the responsibilities resting upon him. But on the other hand we surely ought not to overlook the sociological implications of that scientific truth, that as function modifies structure, so in time does structure modify function, and when thoroughly ossified must sometimes be fractured as a condition of further evolution.

It seems to me very clear that our electoral system, of which the caucus is for all practical purposes a component part, has become so ossified that the free exercise of political functions must be conditional on the fracture of that part of the structure or system which obstructs our growth.

The tyranny of the party caucus has long been a just subject of complaint as an impediment to independent political action. All of us, or those at least who have been engaged in efforts to rescue a city government from ring rule, know that were it not for the caucus we could have accomplished what oftentimes has been found impossible. We know, too, that the great difficulty always encountered has been the artificial division of the mass of the voters on party lines. Yet one great salient fact seems to have all but escaped notice, namely: that so long as the caucus continues to be the usual and recognized method of making nominations, just so long partisan division of voters continues, and just so long will we be confronted with the problem as to how candidates for municipal offices can be nominated and elected on their personal merits irrespective of their political views or affiliations. The separation of municipal from State and national elections, supplemented by the work of good government clubs and kindred independent, non-partisan organizations, has a distinct tendency to minimize partisan bias in municipal elections. But it might as well be recognized sooner as later that the remedy does not go to the root of the evil. In fact it may well be doubted whether the disease of par-

tisanship can be cured. Yet it may be prevented by changing the environment which breeds the germ of contagion.

Here we may conclude our arraignment of the American caucus system, and but for a probable failure to understand how the abolition of the caucus would give us what I assume to term the democratic-European system, I might here conclude this paper. It has been asserted that in order to free ourselves from the thralldom of partisan misrule we must break down the barrier which restricts our political activities. I am all but prepared to assert that this is the one thing necessary to be done, and if asked as a citizen of New York what I would substitute for the caucus system in that State, would answer, emphatically, *nothing*. Neither would it be necessary or advisable to make any further change, except to break down a few more barriers. But it will be asked how will nominations then be made? The answer is simple and can be made without qualification or hesitancy. All candidates would then be nominated by the method already provided in the New York statute for placing independent, non-partisan tickets before the people. Nominations would be made by petition subscribed by a certain number of electors, the number, preferably few, to be fixed by statute, and upon the filing of this petition the name of the nominee would be placed upon the official ballot without further formality. In other words, the people, not the politicians, would then nominate as well as elect. The proposition is a simple one. Does it impress anyone as either novel or startling? It certainly is not novel, though it may startle those who are inclined to stigmatize every new suggestion as theoretical or visionary to be told in this connection that the plan has worked with unvarying success in Great Britain for years. It is simply a modification, made necessary by the adoption of the Australian ballot, of the free nomination system which formerly obtained in Great Britain, and at one time in New England, by which candidates for political office were nominated directly by the people without the intervention of King Caucus.

It is hardly described properly as either a scheme or a plan. Its great merit is its simplicity, and for us, as has been shown, it means simply the breaking down of a barrier which obstructs the free exercise of political functions.

But, it will be said, under such a free nominating system we are liable to be flooded with a multiplicity of candidates for each office, and the official ballot will be rendered cumbersome beyond endurance. This is the one tenable objection which can be made, and it must be met, as before intimated, by breaking down one more barrier, thereby again assimilating our system to the relatively simple and more democratic European system. Instead of filling a multiplicity of offices by election as now, the number of elective city offices must be reduced to two or three at most, and preferably, as I think, to one.

In England, as we all know since the publication of Dr. Shaw's interesting book, the executive and legislative functions of the city government are combined in a council, after the pattern of the British Parliament. Each member of the council is elected from a separate ward, though not necessarily a resident thereof, as with us, and any ten electors of the ward are privileged to nominate a candidate for councilman by filing a petition or nominating paper, properly subscribed. At the ensuing election, as I understand it, the candidate for councilman is the only candidate before the people for their suffrages. At all events there is no such multiplicity of elective offices as to interfere with the utmost freedom to the electors of nominating as many candidates as they will for the office of councilman. The proof of this may be found in the fact that no difficulty has been encountered. The council when elected governs by committees, each committee operating its department through a single appointed executive, thus ensuring, as I believe, all needed concentration of responsibility and executive efficiency. The mayor elected by the council seems to be little more than its presiding officer.

This same general system, with various differences of detail, obtains in all well governed cities throughout Continental

Europe. In some of these cities the mayor is clothed with greater executive powers than in Great Britain, and in some of them the mayors are appointed by the national executive, yet the responsible control of the affairs of the city is largely vested in the councils elected by the people. It would not be within the scope of this paper to examine in minute detail the differences in the municipal systems of European cities. It suffices for our purpose to note the fact that with all their minor differences the municipal systems of England, France, Germany, and even Hungary, are practically as alike as they are different from ours. Not the least important of the differences is the fact that nowhere through Europe does King Caucus rule. In no European city, so far as can be learned, has any artificial barrier been erected to interfere with the unrestricted right of the people to nominate as well as elect candidates for city offices. Neither is the European hampered by any such vicious administrative or electoral systems as obtain here, under which, and in pursuance of the demagogic cry that the people ought to have a voice in the selection of minor executive officials, the real voice of the American people is stifled, and the will of the politician substituted for that of the people.

The democracy of European municipalities is real, not sham, and therein, as I believe, lies the secret of their success. The European has not, like us, assumed to impose upon the people the impossible task of selecting by popular vote fit incumbents for minor executive offices, and therefore has not been driven to the alternative which many of us have somewhat incautiously inferred to be the only alternative—the election by popular vote of an autocratic mayor. Let me not be misunderstood: I do not antagonize the federal system, so called, as opposed to the hybrid system of divided responsibility which prevails in most American cities. As the monarchy of Europe was an improvement upon the preceding feudal system, so the federal may well be regarded as an improvement on that system which I have assumed to characterize as hybrid.

I have to suggest, however, that while our reformers have clearly discovered the evil and its cause, they may not as certainly have hit upon the right remedy. I would suggest, also, that in the fight which some day must be made to reduce the number of elective offices, the popular prejudice against one-man power which thus far has defeated repeated efforts in that direction, can be neutralized in no way so effectually as by following the democratic-European precedent of government by councils.

Many, perhaps most of the friends of good government in this country, are wedded to the American federal system, and insist, mistakenly as I think, that we cannot safely model after the democratic-European system because of different social, economic or political conditions. I would ask attention to the fact that the democratic system works well :—

In France, under universal manhood suffrage, as in England and other countries where the suffrage is restricted.

In Ireland and Hungary, whence come, at times, undesirable immigrants, as in Germany and England.

In Germany, where the city government owns and operates monopolies, and in France, under the more enlightened system of governmental control.

Under the newly awakened civilization of Hungary, as under the older civilization of England with all her accumulated wealth of respectable traditions.

It will be objected, and is objected and urged in opposition to the democratic idea, that in each of the European countries named there is still some restriction on the power of the people ; if not a restriction of the suffrage as in Germany and in England, there is a partial denial of home rule, as in France, more particularly in Paris. From this the inference is sought to be drawn that it is because of these restrictions rather than in spite of them that progress has been made.

Yet the fact is obvious to all careful observers, that the remarkable improvement in municipal conditions throughout Great

Britain and Continental Europe during the nineteenth century has been contemporaneous with the growth of democratic ideas, and the granting of local autonomy, or a large measure of home rule, to the municipality. Conversely it may be asserted safely that in the absence of these conditions, or an approximation thereto, there has been no such improvement, and no "civic spirit" equal to the task of effecting needed reforms. It is a fact, obvious enough to those who will study recent European history, that liberal municipal institutions have contributed as directly to the prosperity of the city as liberal institutions in the State or nation to the conservation of equal civic rights.

We are especially concerned to note here that, under the democratic-European system, partisan bias has not unduly influenced nominations or elections, and also, that the democratic system, as I assume to term it, necessarily has a direct tendency to exclude undue partisan influence. In the first place, and this is all important, under the free nominating system the office seeks the man, not the man the office. There is neither excuse nor opportunity for a scramble after the nomination. In the next place, the election being but for one office, that of councilman, and no candidate having the advantage of a political endorsement, each person whose name has been placed on the official ballot by petition, has to run on his personal merit, with the consequence, as old world experience teaches us, that the best man usually wins. This result is further guaranteed by the fact that the elective office is unsalaried, thereby depriving it of the character of a political prize, and effectually barring the competition of the spoils politician. The further fact that the office of councilman is the highest municipal office in the gift of the people gives to it the same dignity which, with us, is attached to the mayoralty, and the duties of the councilman not being executive, except in the sense that they have supervision over the acts of their appointees, it is entirely practicable to obtain the services of the best class of citizens without compensation, the same class as serve on civil service commissions and

like official boards in the United States. In this lies one great advantage in the democratic over the federal system. It is manifestly impossible to obtain the services of an efficient executive without adequate compensation, and yet, so long as there is a large salary attached to the position, it will be regarded as a prize to be striven for at the polls. It is an almost necessary corollary that he who obtains the prize will continue to be regarded as under obligations to reward those who aided him in the strife, or, in other words, to perpetuate the spoils system.

A favorite and eminently sound argument in favor of the federal as against the "hybrid" system has been that where the mayoralty is the only elective executive office, the issue is so narrowed that the voter is not likely to have his attention diverted from a due consideration of the qualifications of opposing candidates. But this argument applies with at least equal force where the councilman is the only officer, executive or legislative, voted for, and there is the additional advantage under the democratic system that a mistake of judgment on the part of the electors is not attended with necessarily serious results. If it still be insisted, with or without reason, that the democratic scheme is theoretical, visionary, fanciful; that executive efficiency cannot be assured under such a system, and that there is not sufficient concentration of responsibility, I can but reply that the best proof of its worth is the fact that it has worked well wherever it has been tried, and in quite marked contrast to the working of the federal system in this country. It may not be amiss to suggest also, for the benefit of the very practically minded reformer, that a system under which the legislative body assumes to exercise executive functions to the extent of appointing single executive heads of departments, has a very close analogy to the system under which every business corporation in this and every other country is organized.

The democratic idea implies a conviction that government cannot be made permanently better than the people from whom all power is derived. A necessary corollary to this idea is that

needed reforms can be effected only by breaking down all barriers which obstruct the free operation of the people's will.

Partisanship, the chief barrier in this country, has been crystalized first by custom, then by statute into a system which mocks all disinterested efforts to secure needed reforms. The evil is evident. The remedy is not, as many reformers have mistakenly believed, to impose further checks and limitations upon the power of the people, either by restriction of the suffrage, of immigration, or otherwise. The only efficient remedy is to so simplify the issue and the process by which it is to be tried, that neither technicalities nor a want of understanding on the part of the political tribunal to which the issue is submitted shall cause a miscarriage of justice.

To this end we need not so much invention as introspection. Not new and complicated election machinery, not elaborate, cunningly devised electoral methods, but less machinery, less method even, a simple, plain system under which the people can nominate as well as elect candidates of their own choosing.

Such is the democratic-European method, and until its underlying principle is given adequate expression in American methods all efforts to exclude partisan politics from municipal affairs will be futile.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing was written I have been asked to state more specifically *how* I would abolish the caucus. My answer is, not by prohibiting the caucus as an unlawful assemblage, for that would be an undue interference with the liberty of the citizen, but by refusing recognition to a caucus' nominee as such; by repealing all statutory provisions regulating caucus nominations, leaving nomination by petition the only legally recognized method. The official ballot would then show all candidates to be equally "regular" and equally "independent," and each candidate would have to run on his individual merits.

This method, assuredly, would not bar the indorsement of any candidate either before or after the nomination by a caucus or mass-meeting called for that purpose. But neither would any such restriction be necessary, nor ought it to be desired.

All that can reasonably be asked is freedom from restraint and equal opportunity for all.

The framers of the present election law of the State of New York clearly indicated their appreciation of the potency of a free nomination system when they decided to group the names of all candidates in the party column and declined to group them under the name of the office without respect to political affiliations. They recognized clearly that without the aid of artificial election machinery the people could not be kept in political bondage. The intelligent non-partisan, on the other hand, asks for nothing but equal freedom, equal opportunity for all, and with that granted will willingly abide the result.

COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

RYERSON RITCHIE,

Secretary, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

The subject of commercial organizations and municipal reform comprehends a wide range of observation and experience, and it is manifestly out of the question to attempt any studied consideration of the subject in the few minutes assigned to it. But we are seeking methods of work which produce practical progress. There is much that is common to all of our great cities in the conditions upon which their prosperity and good government depend, but there is a wide diversity in the application of methods which are calculated to promote reforms. The city of Cleveland, which probably now occupies the eighth position among the great trade centres of our country, has gone through an experience within the past few years that affords an interesting example of what may be accomplished in the interest of good government by a commercial organization. The stability and advancement of commerce in any large community bear so intimate a relationship to its prosperity that business men must be held responsible to a very large extent for the proper regulation and direction of municipal affairs.

Twenty-five years ago Cleveland, like many of our American cities, was governed by men of exceptional business ability and of high character. These men were chosen because of their fitness for public service and for their faithfulness in dis-

charging the duties of any trust which might be imposed upon them. They were distinguished by their wisdom, honesty and sound judgment. Such men honored the community and dignified the public service.

But the modern politician soon led a charge against "the old-fashioned methods" of city government, and victoriously rode his way into office. Then the man who sought the honor of public office attained his ambition, because he championed this or denounced that policy. In a short time the impression became current that there was something attainable beyond honor and distinction; the campaign was then waged on prejudice: corporations, franchises, "deals," "rings," and classes became factors in elections. Both as to fitness and character the standard of the public service seemed to retrograde until it was openly charged by contending factions that the "rights of the people" were matters for barter by their representatives. The old-time respect for men in the public service gave way to want of confidence, if not contempt. It became difficult to induce any man of affairs and high standing to accept public office; his motives were questioned and his character maligned. The average business man lost interest in the government of his city, and, with an indifference that is hard to excuse, permitted the politicians to manage affairs to suit themselves.

Ten years ago the business men of Cleveland inaugurated a movement for reform and secured the passage by the Legislature of a bill authorizing a new city charter under the federal form of government. While the change apparently brought constitutional improvements, it did not produce the reforms its advocates hoped for. It did not instill into the minds of the people a greater consciousness of civic responsibility, nor did it stimulate among business men a more patriotic citizenship. It did not eradicate the spoils system, nor guarantee honesty and capacity among officials and employes. It gave, to be sure, a better form of government, but it did

not reform the spoilsman or the party through which he operated.

About five years ago there was a second awakening. The good citizen—that is, the man who had been neglectful of his obligations as a citizen—began to be actively interested. The city of Cleveland had not greatly suffered from partisan mismanagement, but there were evidences that “machine” methods were gaining the ascendancy. The conduct of affairs was subject only to partisan criticism, in which the thoughtful citizen had little confidence. But an organization like the Chamber of Commerce could not be charged with partisanship. It approached the subject of municipal reform on the theory that the conduct of the city’s business, the shaping of public improvements and respect for law and order were at all times up to the standard set by public opinion and that all that was necessary to enforce the economic, wise and progressive administration of affairs was a healthy and assertive public sentiment.

The Chamber of Commerce had endeavored to adapt itself to the conditions which gave the city its individuality, and in its earnest efforts to promote the growth of commerce and industry had already won popular favor. The rapid development of manufacturing enterprises had fixed the commercial character of the city and assured its future as the economic centre of the iron industry and its multiform products. Speculation in cereals, stocks or land had not disturbed the equanimity of its people or endangered its monetary institutions. The men who laid the foundations of our great commercial enterprises and who had made possible the prosperous and beautiful Cleveland of to-day were progressive but conservative men, and the Chamber of Commerce, in which they had held membership for nearly half a century, had followed the customary routine of such bodies until the time came when the need of municipal progress and good government commanded its attention.

When this broader field of usefulness was opened out before the organization it amended its constitution and became more cosmopolitan in character ; it invited into its membership representative citizens whether engaged in business or professional occupations. The special trades were formed into boards and exchanges in the interest of their respective lines, while the general body aimed to unite all of them in the larger work of promoting the general welfare.

Under the reorganization thus brought about it was esteemed important that every question coming before the general body should be carefully studied ; hence, it provided that all matters requiring action by the chamber should be first considered in committee and then submitted to the board of directors for approval. No report is now permitted to go before the Chamber that has not undergone careful study from every standpoint originating in the desire to maintain a dignified and influential position in the community and among the membership. If a report of any committee indicates carelessness in preparation, if it lacks purpose or is impolitic in expression or recommendation, it is referred back to the committee, with suggestions from the directors. The proceedings of committees and directors are kept from the public until they have been matured and are submitted to the general body. In the study of and action upon municipal problems this policy has been of the greatest advantage, as it prevents premature or sensational publicity. It encourages the frank and full consideration of matters which are fruitful subjects for public discussion.

The function of the Chamber of Commerce was to enlist public interest in what it desired to accomplish, and in presenting logical and indisputable arguments in all of its reports and utterances, favoring public measures and policies, it challenged criticism and invited the approval of every man who considered the welfare of the city paramount to that of his party. By a judicious treatment of public issues, which really comprehended the whole system of civic management, and by well directed

references to the faults and imperfections of the methods in vogue, in contrast with those in commercial life, the support of business men was a certain result, while the approval of a right minded populace was also assured. It was of the greatest importance that the Chamber of Commerce should not take up any subject without the sustaining influence of a united membership as well as a reasonable hope of success. It was also considered necessary that any campaign for the prosecution of public enterprises or governmental improvement should be undertaken in a spirit of helpfulness and co-operation, free from antagonism to individuals or parties.

While the parties which sought control of the municipal government of Cleveland had at their command the usual coterie of "hangers on," to whom it was under obligation for campaign services, the city government was comparatively free from scandals. There were no "rings" or "combines" of sufficient consequence to make the public consider the situation grave. Hence it was not thought politic to make an attack directly upon the spoils system, but rather to endeavor to induce those in authority to adopt a policy of action, and in attracting attention to this need, a channel was afforded through which public opinion might be guided into a movement for a higher order of municipal service.

The glory of each administration for many years had been its promises. Each party had vied with the other in fostering antagonism and in discrediting what the other had done. Whatever progress had been made toward the execution of municipal enterprises by one administration was lost sight of in the excitement of the following campaign. The public then voted in a new set of politicians, who were, on principle, determined to undo what had been done, or to do it in their own way. The preliminaries usually absorbed the interval of time from one election to another. Such a condition of affairs produced stagnation in municipal enterprise.

The shipping interests of Cleveland had, in twenty-five

years, grown from comparatively small proportions to be the greatest on the inland lakes. While natural advantages and private enterprise had been building up at the harbor of Cleveland a great shipping business, the municipal government had neglected to enlarge the harbor or furnish modern facilities for the rapid handling of vessels and their cargoes. Congestion of the harbor induced the development by the vessel, iron ore and coal interests in Cleveland of dockage facilities along the lake front, from Ashtabula in the east to Lorain in the west. The Chamber of Commerce then took up this subject as a matter of serious interest to the community, and championed a fixed policy of harbor improvement. It exposed the weakness of partisan methods, condemned as destructive to commerce the dilatory and inefficient policy in practice, and appealed for popular support of a well considered and comprehensive plan, which contemplated not only the immediate needs of the port, but the assured expansion of its shipping. Reports were submitted from time to time upon the subjects until public opinion was aroused. It was no insignificant task to awaken a right sentiment, because the politicians had succeeded in building many prejudices, instead of docks and wharves. But the position of the Chamber was unassailable, and the dominant good sense of the community soon asserted itself in favor of an aggressive and vigorous policy.

The same obstructions to progress affected other civic improvements and much the same methods were pursued in obtaining popular support and in forcing the authorities to the point of decisive action. Among the public improvements which called for activity on the part of the Chamber the following were most important : The planning of an extensive system of public grounds and roadways under the direction of a board of commissioners ; the extension of the water system, which necessitated a very large outlay in order to secure a pure and adequate supply ; and an improved and expensive system of public sanitation.

The Chamber also took up such questions as public franchises, street signs, obstructions, traffic, paving, cleaning and lighting, street railway service, public education, public libraries, taxation, corrupt election practices, enforcement of law and order, and other subjects of more or less local interest.

The agitation in favor of a policy of continuity in the execution of municipal necessities and enterprises met with the most satisfactory results. The administration then in power took steps to carry out these enterprises, and to it much credit is due for the formulation of plans which were accepted and executed by the succeeding administration. The candidates at the election of April, 1895, pledged themselves to a positive policy of progress, and upon the very satisfactory record since made the administration was re-instated by vote of the people on the pledge that its adherents would push with all possible speed the many improvements which had been provided for.

If the administration which had given evidence of its ability in the execution of public improvements had also been able to show equal progress toward the introduction of the merit system its success at the polls would have been overwhelming. It is noteworthy that all of the candidates for the mayoralty at the election in April last unequivocally expressed themselves in favor of the introduction of civil service rules in the municipal service.

In the prosecution of the work of municipal advancement the members of the Chamber of Commerce were by no means idle. The efforts put forth gave early promise of a successful issue and naturally stimulated a keen interest in the movement and a willingness to be helpful. Never in the history of Cleveland had business men been more united in laboring for public benefits; never had they given so freely of their time and counsel for the general welfare. The members of the Chamber were called into active service in many ways. Joint meetings of the council and Chamber, and frequent conferences between officials and committees representing the city administration and Cham-

ber, indicated a cordial feeling of mutual co-operation. Nearly all of the important propositions for improvements were submitted to the Chamber for consideration and approval; advisory committees and commissions composed of members of the Chamber and councilmen were appointed by the mayor. Joint delegations visited the General Assembly at Columbus in the interest of authoritative legislation, and with rare exceptions the legislative representatives, city officials and members of the Chamber labored unitedly.

The successful issue of every public enterprise advocated by the Chamber is not only assured, but every indication promises the early introduction of the merit system in the municipal service.

Not the least among the benefits resulting from the work of the Chamber of Commerce was the recent organization of the Municipal Association of Cleveland, whose secretary, Professor Henry E. Bourne, is in attendance at this meeting. The influence of this Association promises to be direct and far-reaching in its effect upon the voters of the community.

Closely allied to and interwoven with the work which had been done to promote the accomplishment of municipal projects was the determination to break up the spoils system and to substitute therefor business methods in the management of city business. Finally this subject was brought directly to the attention of the Chamber in a report from its municipal committee. The members of the Chamber themselves were made the chief object of attack; upon the business men of the community was placed the responsibility for the evils which were the inevitable result of partisanship. To illustrate this method of securing the attention of business men it may be of interest to quote, in conclusion, a few paragraphs from the report referred to:

"There is a tremendous waste of public money under a system that permits political changes below elective positions. Men who cannot succeed in their own calling, by reason of campaign services claim recognition and an office. Reputable citizens who

would not employ such persons in their own service think it legitimate to sign petitions to the mayor, and personally recommend appointments which they do not honestly believe to be in the interest of the city. What may we expect of a mayor when thus appealed to by men of presumably good standing in the community? In whom should he have confidence if not in them? So committed to this false and unprincipled policy are many otherwise good men that they will sign almost any petition for appointment in the municipal service. We should be severely critical of ourselves and of our people for continuing methods that handicap officials, and actually force them to play into the hands of their party, when they ought, by every legal and moral right, to serve only the city.

"The relation which business men bear to the municipal government of a city is really much more intimate than one might judge from the lack of interest which they seem to take in the management of the corporation in which, to use a commercial simile, they hold a majority of stock. There are two interests which call for our best thought and ability. One is our regular occupation, which needs constant direction that it may produce the largest financial result; the other is our interest as shareholders in the corporation of the city of Cleveland. Men who have achieved success in business by their ability and forethought, who utterly neglect one interest that is more in need of attention than the other, are not, to put it mildly, consistent. Ordinarily, business men do not trust any part of their business to men in whom they have not confidence, but in municipal matters they place vast sums of money in the hands of men into whose business ability and integrity of character they rarely inquire.

"A man who pays taxes upon \$100,000 is interested to just that extent in dollars and cents. Out of the profits of his business \$2,870 goes for public education, improvement and protection. If his profits are \$10,000 a year, \$28,700, or more than one quarter of his capital, is being managed for, and its

returns devoted to the city, county and State. It would seem, therefore, that he ought to be interested ; yet he does not bother himself about the judicious expenditure of public money unless the treasury is robbed. If the press criticises some act of the administration or Council, he joins in the abuse among his friends or perhaps through the newspapers. He forgets that the mayor, directors and councilmen often need advisers and supporters even more than they need critics. But should these officials need criticism, would it not be the part of wisdom to go and see them personally ? Suppose our present mayor did some official act that seemed radically wrong ; what would be the effect if a hundred of our representative citizens called at his office for information the next morning ?

“ We have been blaming everything in the vocabulary for the conditions that prevail—the ‘ foreign element,’ the ‘ pot-house politician,’ the ‘ ward heeler,’ the ‘ wire puller,’ the Republican party, the Democratic party, the ‘ corporations,’ the State constitution, the city charter, and so on. If we come nearer home and blame ourselves we shall have made some advance toward a right solution of the problem. It is not fault-finding the city wants, but help. We must not send a substitute to the ‘ seat of war,’ we must go ourselves. For protection, for self-interest, for the public good, business men, and every loyal citizen besides, must stand ready to serve, if called upon, on the Council or elsewhere if the people need them.”

With the application of local coloring, what was said by the municipal committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce might properly be heard by members of every association of business men the country over. There is no better, no more patriotic work in which they can be engaged than in endeavoring to elevate the tone and dignity of government in the city, the State and the nation.

Recalling a report upon the Minneapolis Convention of the National Municipal League submitted to the Chamber of Commerce by Hon. L. E. Holden—who, as an editor and citizen, has

done noble service for the cause of good government in Cleveland—the famous words of Dr. Holland were quoted :

“ A time like this demands
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinions and a will ;
Men who have honor, men who will not lie ;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking ;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking.
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo ! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps.”

THE WAGE-EARNER IN POLITICS.

GEORGE CHANCE,President, Legislative Labor League of Pennsylvania.

There is no class of people so much interested in the honest and economical administration of the affairs of a municipality as that part of our population denominated the wage-earner—that is, the mechanic and laborer. This is especially true of the great cities, where, through the character of the legislation and its consequent effects, he is forced to bear an unequal share of the burdens of taxation. He does this unknowingly and unwittingly ; because, as soon as he is brought to a thorough realization of the important part he is playing in the payment of taxes for the support of the municipality, his interest will become more apparent, and the welfare of the city will be paramount to his party affiliations or partisan predilections. Until he is convinced of this fact reformation in the city government will be slow, on account of his numerical strength.

How does the wage-earner bear an unequal share of the burden of taxation? Let us take the question of rents. It is an important matter, and of vital interest in this connection. Rents will average fully 25 per cent. of the wage-worker's earning capacity. I am now speaking of the householder. The laborer who receives \$9 per week will live in a house that he can rent for \$9 or \$10 per month, or, if in a larger or more expensive one, he sub-lets a portion, so as to bring his monthly rent down to his weekly earnings. The mechanic who makes \$15 per week lives in a \$15 house, and so on, until we find mechanics living in houses renting for \$25 per month whose wages reach \$25 per week. Personal observation in two cities prove

that these are about the correct figures, and inquiry as to the metropolis of the nation brings the same results; whether they live in flats or rooms, one-fourth of the wages, and often more, goes for rent. It is a fixed outlay, and rent day comes with uninterrupted regularity. The wage-earner's income may be lessened temporarily by sickness, lack of employment, slackness of work and various other causes, but the call of the landlord is constant and continuous. The system of the assessment of properties in all our large cities is generally the same, or rather conducted on the same plan. The assessor or assessors are chosen from the political parties, either by election or appointment, not on account of their fitness for the position, but because of their political "pull" with either of the parties or the appointing power. As a result the work is imperfectly and often dishonestly done. Politicians have a "pull" with the assessors, and often secure low assessments for themselves and political friends. And in some instances the large property owner secures lower assessments through other and equally dishonest means.

Small houses that rent for \$10 a month are assessed at from 85 to 100 per cent. of their actual value; the \$25 a month house is assessed at from 75 to 90 per cent. of its actual value; the houses that double this amount in rent are assessed at from 60 to 75 per cent., while the mansions of the wealthy, large office buildings and manufacturing establishments are assessed at figures ranging from 40 to 60 per cent., and in many instances at not more than the value of the land on which they are erected. The more imposing the structure and the more valuable the land, the lower the rate of assessment. As a consequence, notwithstanding the fact that the tax rate is the same, the small renters pay an undue proportion of the taxes, and the cheaper the house, and consequently the poorer the occupant, the higher is his proportionate share.

The demands of city corporations on the taxpayers are gauged by the honesty or dishonesty of the administration

rather than on the actual needs of the municipality. Where politics are one-sided, or rather where one party has unlimited sway, corruption and extravagance are the more apparent and unblushing, the business of the city being conducted for the benefit of the office-holders and their friends first, and the citizens next. Of course, at times this becomes so flagrant that a popular uprising results in the defeat of these unworthy public servants. But, as no change is apparent in a few months, the citizens return to their party allegiance at the next election, we continue in the same old ruts, and the men who make a business of politics fasten their tentacles more firmly on the municipal body.

The demand for municipal reform has undoubtedly taken a firm hold on many wage-earners, and especially is this true of organized labor. Where formerly the discussion of municipal or other politics was tabooed or forbidden, now reform in this direction is openly advocated and publicly endorsed. As the agitation among the wage-earners becomes more general the efforts of the leaders in this movement will be more thoroughly seconded. The results where municipal reform has been put in practical operation are of such a character that they are convincing and will convince workingmen of the necessity of dropping partisan politics when electing the officials of a municipality. Toronto, Canada; Reaubais, France; Glasgow, Scotland, and London and Plymouth, England, which are now being conducted on true municipal lines, are evidence to the wage-earner that his interest, which is the public interest, is best served when he selects men of his own stamp, or those wedded to his and the public's welfare, rather than the blind followers of party. He has seen some of these cities take charge of the natural rights of the municipality, and conduct them in the interests of the people. He has seen others eliminate the contractor from the performance of all municipal work, with the result of higher wages and fewer hours for the workmen, and work done better and cheaper for the city. Where street railroads are

owned and operated by the cities he sees better service, lower fares and contented employees. With the vicious contract system abolished, he sees the work of building sewers, paving and cleaning streets and other public work done by day's labor, with better material and workmanship and smaller outlay. When the wage-earner becomes thoroughly acquainted with these facts, the change in the manner of conducting the city government will change, and the result will not be of the spasmodic character that has too often been the result of the efforts to bring about these much desired reforms. Formerly he has had no particular incentive to independent voting, because the change in political parties brought no change in the system and no benefit to him. He was used merely to advance the interest of one or the other political parties. For some trifling or apparent favor he was often made the perpetual follower of some political heeler, and the importunities of the division leader or place-holder were successful in securing his vote simply because he saw no chance for municipal improvement by the free use of his suffrage. The party or movement that advocates ownership, control and operation of all street railways, the supplying of water, gas and electricity, the paving and cleaning of streets by the city itself, will find ready and zealous supporters among the wage-earners, and especially within the ranks of organized labor.

THE BUSINESS MAN IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH, ESQ., CHICAGO.

The constant, habitual presence of the business man in municipal politics, and the controlling influence of his ideals have for a good while been looked forward to as a particular hope of reformers. He has therefore been the object of much persuasion, and of much public-spirited meditation. Possibly it ought to be called the dream rather than the hope of reformers. Hope or dream, it has been encouraged by the business man's occasional energetic onslaughts and invasions ; and by his effectiveness against civic degeneracy when he gets thoroughly aroused. The trouble of this reform hope has lain in the difficulty of converting the business man from an occasional slayer of bad politicians into a settled factor in municipal politics ; in making his participation habitual ; in turning him from a sudden spasm into a steady influence. There has been a general consensus of opinion that he could and would turn bad government into good as long as he should give himself to it ; but how to make him take the trouble long enough to make his good government secure and permanent has seemed a great bother.

The greater number of reformers look upon the business man as our nearest approach to a panacea for municipal ills. And the belief in his special fitness for governing a city is widespread among all the people. His training and his business ideals, it is believed, are the typical training and ideals of a city father. His training leads him to adopt strictly business methods in conducting any affairs with which he becomes charged ; and he naturally conceives everything irrelevant, and out of place, which conflicts with business methods. And, as city govern-

ment is generally regarded by reformers as a business affair pure and simple, it stands to reason that the man most allied to its right methods and to its highest ideals is the man whose training is a business one. Are not the business man's instincts immediately offended if you propose a government which tries to find out "how not to do it"; or to run a government to provide right places for men rather than right men for places? Is not the spoils system unknown to the ideals, and would it not be instantly rejected by the training of the business man? *Prima facie* at least the business man in municipal politics is a clear case; and it is no wonder that it has been an important aim of the reformer to make city government less unattractive to him, in order to beguile him to enter and save the situation. Personally I do not go quite the lengths of some of my fellow-reformers in this view of my fellow-business-men, because I do not think city government is wholly a business affair.

But not only has the reformer held this complimentary view of the business man; it must be admitted that the public has that view of him. We all talk of him as the hope of every city. And he certainly has proved himself a valiant defender, and a disinterested fighter, and a vigorous reformer. Without his intervention from time to time—and without the feeling on the part of the wicked that he is always in the background and may at any time emerge—we should be in a sorry way.

But it is a curious phenomenon that concurrent with all this satisfying belief in the business man, and with all this energetic theorizing that we are working toward a millennium, when the business man will be the active, practical factor in running our municipal governments, the opposite drift has set in and is seemingly becoming dominant. What I may call the development of the business man's exclusion is seemingly becoming the characteristic of the time. While we think we are preparing the way for the entrance of the business man, we seem to be steadily making his handling of our affairs unnecessary and, in the sense that we advocate this, impossible. At least, there are some

strong indications of this drift ; and they are certainly important enough to arrest our attention and call for our consideration.

It is possible—very possible—that this new tendency points to a way out ; and a way difficult enough, yet not so difficult as changing the leopard spots of the business man's inclination to attend to his own business ; and remote enough as to its consummation, yet not so remote as the time when business men will be constant politicians. It is at any rate interesting ; and it is well to examine every indication or drift in public affairs to make sure whether the tendency is likely to become controlling or effective.

What I have called a development of the exclusion of the business man, *per se*, from municipal politics, just at the time when everybody is trying to drag him in, is a development which would equally exclude the spoilsman, *per se*. It would at least be a surprise—though not a disagreeable surprise—if it were found that, partly with our aid and partly without it, we are being carried by unnoticed currents to a form and method of city government we are not contemplating but to the results we are anxious to welcome.

What I seem to see growing up, or preparing to grow up, is a professional city government. I mean a professional good city government—not a professional bad city government.

On the other hand, the scheme of the business man in municipal politics, as at present conceived, would mean a volunteer and altruistic method of government. It is in principle like a volunteer fire department—founded on the self-denial of the citizen and love of mankind.

It is true that the spoils method of city government has gradually evolved spoilsmen into a professional attitude and into professional *esprit* even ; but this is not the professional government I see the signs of. The spoilsmen have not the weakness of altruism to contend with ; but they have as permanent factors the fatal defect that they have not a particle of the respect of their communities. The weakness of altruism as a constant

motive in such an exacting affair as city government is its incompatibility with the duty of earning one's living ; and the weakness of the professional spoilsman is his incompatibility with the duty of earning one's living.

The apparent justification of the tendency of municipal politics toward professional good government—if it is an actual tendency—is that volunteer and purely altruistic participation in municipal government must be spasmodic and intermittent ; and that the spoilsmen, while professional and constant, do not give good results. Indeed, the spoilsmen don't give anything ; they take anything.

The inquiry, then, which I suggest is, whether there are indications that we are drifting toward a paid, professional, expert city government as we have drifted into a paid, professional, expert city fire department ; and, further, whether the one, like the other, is something to be desired.

Is it or is it not the fact that while we are directing our thought to inducing the business man to enter city politics, and save us, we are building up a system which, without our intending it, will more and more exclude him from governing positions, and, more and more, render him unnecessary as a special factor ; and, therefore, more and more exclude him from municipal politics ? Let us see.

Does it not seem clear that the more places we bring under the protection of civil service reform laws—under the *ægis* of the merit system—the more we restrict both the opportunities of the business man to serve the people officially, and the demand for his help to “turn the rascals out ?” These places become permanently occupied, once for all—at least during good behavior ; and they are filled and refilled by an automatic system which gives no chance to the business man, unless he wishes to quit business ; while the protection of these offices ceases to make any special demand whatever upon his good citizenship. The truth is that the extent to which the merit system is extended to that extent the business man is absolved. I fear to that ex-

tent he will even be forgotten. Civic pride in the business man will become insensible and voiceless, step by step with the advancing victories of civil service reform.

And we are all working heartily for the adoption of civil service reform in our cities. The business men themselves are especially devoted to it—whether or not, in part, because it relieves them of the need of living up to the expectations of their fellow-citizens I do not know.

And the next fact is especially significant. We are not concerning ourselves with the adoption only of the merit system in the cities ; but are strenuous, and will without doubt be more and more strenuous, for its extension ; for its extension and its development. This is clearly evident. Civil service reform and its supporting governmental principles will perhaps not ask to cover every office in a municipality, but they will come very close to that. Our Chicago law is undergoing interpretation now with a view to finding how far its extension goes ; and not only the reformers but the public generally are in favor of extending the classifications, as near as possible, to the sacred person of the mayor himself. There are a few who still think this sacrilege ; but they are likely, I believe, to grow fewer as time goes on ; and they are not of the class that found progressive or permanent public beliefs. At most they only retard or vex the inevitable issue of a political controversy, and destroy themselves in the operation.

Doesn't this show important indications of a national tendency to get on without the business man in city politics ? Certainly the demand for civil service reform may be called a national demand. The national government has carried the reform to great lengths ; and the people are profoundly gratified. And now the great cities are all coming under it. Boston and all the cities of New York ; and lately Chicago has adopted it with a whirlwind of public approval. Many of you will be inclined to say that after Chicago anything is possible. After Chicago, a deluge of reform. So that I think it will not any longer be dis-

puted that civil service reform is a national policy. Of course the opposition is not yet over ; and there are many ups and downs awaiting us yet ; and the fight is still on. Even at the moment in Chicago, in New York and at Washington there are attempts at reaction ; and they may for a time prevail to some extent. But the American people will no more give up their discoveries of the beginnings of decent government than they will give up their discoveries in electricity. Certainly it will be admitted that at any rate we are confronted with a national tendency—that we are tending toward the merit system. Nor will it be denied that the tendency to adopt civil service reform in our city governments is a tendency to get along without the business man. By getting along without the business man I mean, of course, getting on without his extraordinary and almost impossible attention to city politics ; and without being obliged to make such excessive and almost hopeless demands upon his time and thought and activities.

For myself, I feel entirely sure that the people will not long be satisfied with the development of civil service reform as it stands to-day—though it includes much higher official life than it did awhile ago. They are having a taste of it, and they will demand a much wider extension of its principles. Has this not already in part come about ? Whenever we have gotten it established in one grade of the service, we seem to immediately think it ought to include a grade higher ; and in city government there is nothing to stop it short of the mayor and the few heads of departments whom he might properly call his cabinet. Nor is there any assurance in principle or fact that even the heads of departments will not become permanent officials—as, indeed, I have no doubt all of them ought to be. They will never be of much use until they are ; nor in the nature of the case can they be sincerely ornamental. In some of the best-governed cities of the world even the mayor is a permanent official. That I am not prepared to believe we shall imitate. I cannot see that it would be desirable ; and a mayor shorn of the effulgence of

spoils would be another kind of creature anyway ; less dramatic ; less melodramatic. But it is very noticeable that the American people are increasingly interested in the methods by which foreign cities get themselves so much better governed than ours do ; and that we are getting over the objection to city blessings simply because they are enjoyed in some other country. We have had a high tariff on municipal ideas for the protection of our infant spoilsmen ; but it has resulted in too many trusts.

What I mean by the progressive exclusion of the business man, as an imperative factor in city politics, is perhaps now clear to you. He is needed as a savior of society only when society is menaced by the spoilsman, or else by the corrupt municipal marauder—the municipal plunderer ; and when these two proceed toward elimination he becomes progressively unnecessary.

What I have so far said goes only to show that the spoilsman's occupation is constantly going, and is likely some time to be gone altogether. But I think it reasonable to claim that the other evil genius of city government, the marauder, the plunderer, is in "the course of ultimate extinction." The plunderer is the *alter ego* of the spoilsman. They at least depend very much upon each other. I doubt if one would care to live without the other. He would probably think life not worth living. And, at very least, the corrupt bribe-taking, franchise-selling alderman—in Chicago, for instance—would be an easy mark, deprived of the spoils with which to hold on to his majority. So that the business man would not have a very large job on his hands if he should undertake to help us out. He could do it and carry on his business at the same time.

There is, moreover, a growing tendency to curtail corruption itself. It is becoming definitely realized by the public, that bad city government has only two sources of supplies—the first being the offices and places, and the second, the money corruptly taken from the city treasury or in bribes from the bribing class. As I have said, when the spoils are finally eliminated, under the process now fairly started in most of our

largest cities, money corruption will incidentally lose its firmness and stability. But, quite independently of this, there are tendencies growing up that will aid in thwarting this evil. In the first place, the power and authority of city officials to make money corruptly is subject to growing attack. Take Chicago as an illustration. With us the chief seat of corruption is the City Council—and the chief source of corrupt revenue is the franchise business or dealings with those asking favors of the Council. Now there is an increasing tendency to attack the corrupt power of the Council by taking away their authority over franchises and property rights. At the moment this disposition to take away the authority of corrupt common councils has the form of an appeal to the State Legislature, at the sacrifice of our right to self-government. The people have at once become roused to a frenzy in defense of their home rule. We are reminded that we govern ourselves badly ; but this does not convince us that we should lose our right to govern ourselves at all. This remedy would not remedy anything whatever for the people. And I doubt if the bribing class would find life easier with a Legislature to keep quiet than with a common council to keep quiet. There is no evidence that a Legislature is even as cheap as a common council. And the truth is, I fancy, in this instance that the city railway combination, which is the mover in this plan, is not so anxious to get away from our aldermen as it is to get away from our people, who, of late, are turning their serious attention to the values of public franchises.

However unfortunate it would be to allow any State government to get hold of any city government—a disaster that all reformers would deplore—the instance in Chicago illustrates the tendency to deprive of its authority the City Council, which is the seat of corruption in our city. Apart from this instance, none of us can fail to have noted a growing discussion, in all our great cities, of methods to protect city franchises from the corrupt practices of city government. In some of our cities this is already being effected ; and everywhere public sentiment

is gradually rising to the pitch of insisting upon this reform. There will be nothing else left, in the reforming of city government, after the introduction of the merit system, which will be so great a gain to public morality ; and the public thought is turning in this direction, with the result that the enormity of the abuse is at last burning itself into the mind of the people. In such a case when an awakening takes place and the remedy is presented, the result, I believe, will be sure. And with each step in the direction of curtailing the power and authority and stability of official corruption goes the necessity for the business man as a political providence.

Perhaps, too, one ought to mention, among the new influences that are tending to pare the claws of corruption in municipal government, the quietly rising tide of popular indignation against the managers, the attorneys and the directors of corporations that buy their way through city governments. Bribers for a long time have assumed that the men that they bribe must alone bear the ignominy of the transaction. They have thought they could be the gentlemen and the good citizens and the consistent Christians, while the men they bought would be the rascals. This self-deception involved the egregious theory that as long as the people allowed dishonest or weak men to be aldermen—even though the corporations promoted their election—it was moral and fair to buy the aldermen and despoil the people. They might as well claim the right to bribe a merchant's night watchmen and steal his goods. Of course, such a fiction as that could not last very long ; and I wonder how any man anxious to appear respectable could get through one sleepless night with it. The truth must ever be that it takes two dishonest men to make a dishonest bargain. At any rate, people are getting very decided views about bribers and their characters and responsibilities—and this is having its effect. You will also be able to note, I think, a marked restraint upon the dealings of corporations with city governments, as the habit grows upon the people of analyzing these corporations into the personalities of

their managers, attorneys and directors. All of which will further tend to reduce the area of municipal corruption, and, with the area of corruption, to reduce the bad attractions of city politics and the probability that rascals will habitually rule us. The consequence should be that the merit system will have an easier sway and a wider reach, and that the business man will become a less imperative necessity.

In short, the drift, as it appears to me, is away from the wholly volunteer and occasional form of city government to the form which is continuous and professional.

But is a professional, paid, expert city government to be desired in a democracy? If we are moving toward it—or if there is doubt whether we are not moving toward it—it is well to consider how we should like it. I shall not attempt to define exactly what the desirable limits would be between the action of a professional service and the participation of the electorate, in a democracy. Both must, of course, co-exist; but I can see no objection, on the ground of democratic principle, to any extension of the professional element which experience may encourage. The notion that democracy is opposed to an office tenure during good behavior has no better foundation than the desire for spoils. In the earlier and purer period of our public life this settled office tenure was a part of our system; and everywhere, except in our country, it has grown with the advance of democratic thought, and is now obtaining, again, in our system.

It looked for a while as if only bad government was to be called democratic. Anything like the spoils system, which made government bad, was patriotic; and anything like the merit system, which made government good, was treason against free institutions. Free government must be free and easy. Perhaps the most significant political change since the war is the popular perception of the democratic essence of the merit system and the oligarchic essence of the spoils system. It forms a basis for unlimited political reform.

It is not a shock any longer to democratic preconceptions to propose any logical extension of the merit system—or of professional, as distinguished from volunteer, city government ; it is only a question of test and experience and governmental values. It is only a matter of application. We all admit, for instance, that the chief of a fire department ought to be a professional and permanent officer ; and it becomes a mere question of expediency whether the chief of a police department ought to be equally professional and permanent. It would be difficult to put these two chiefs in separate categories ; and it would be equally difficult to separate either of them from the other managers of our city departments. Certainly our democracy is not involved in these issues, and I, for one, can see no other reason why we shouldn't govern ourselves in the way to have the best government we can get. You cannot get too good a city government to suit me.

And what change in attitude would be required of the vast majority of the so-called good citizens ? They have not run city government. They do not run city government. It is quite possible that under the volunteer system they will never run city government. They allow it to be run by the professional politicians. They say, in effect : " We can better afford to pay what these professional politicians cost than to put our time—continually and habitually—into politics, to the sacrifice of our own convenience and affairs." What change of attitude or principle must they make ? Simply to change their support from bad professional officials to good professional officials ; from inefficient, wasteful and corrupt professional officials to efficient, economical and honest professional officials. They would have professional officials either way. They would pay the cost either way. In one way they get bad government, and in the other way they would get good government. In the one case they cannot, even when they wish, take any part or exert any influence, except by some extraordinary upheaval of the community, or by spending practically all of their time

in politics. In the other case the real influence of city government would easily and habitually reside in them, for the government would be government for the right-intentioned people, and would look to them for its essential direction. One system is an oligarchy, the other would be a democracy.

And why must our people, alone of all the governments in the world, be tied to a system of city politics which produces only horribly bad government and horrible corruption and immorality, or else takes all the time of the business men to restrain it? Does democracy mean to lay such unlimited and wasteful burdens upon its well meaning citizens? Does it mean to wear out its good citizens in warfare with the corrupt? Or does it mean, in a far more beneficent spirit, to allow us to develop a government that will work justly, efficiently and wisely, under the influence and control of our honest people, and at a minimum expenditure of our honest people's time?

ADDRESS.

WILLIAM B. HORNBLOWER, ESQ., NEW YORK CITY.

When I accepted the invitation to attend this Conference I expressly stipulated that I should not be expected to read a paper, as my professional engagements for the month of April were so unusually exacting that I should be unable to find time to prepare anything worthy of the occasion. As I have been placed, however, on the list of speakers, I have jotted down a few observations which this occasion has suggested to me.

This has been the more easy because the subject of municipal reform has been for some years something of a hobby with me, so much so that when I have been called upon to address audiences upon other subjects I have somewhat involuntarily drifted to the subject of municipal politics.

This Conference is itself a striking evidence of the growth and progress throughout the country of the cause of municipal reform. We can hardly realize the state of apathy which existed on this subject only a few years ago among intelligent men, and the feeling of hostility in the mind of the average voter towards anything like independence in municipal politics. The theories of a few years ago have become the commonplaces of to-day. In every large city there is a very considerable body of voters who are no longer diverted from the path of duty by taunts of party disloyalty. Even in the domain of national politics a large body of our fellow-citizens have learned the lesson that sometimes rebellion against party leaders and party conventions is the highest party loyalty. Barras, the well-

known member of the French Directory, in his "Memoirs," has now and then an acute observation as a result of his extensive political experience. One of these observations is, "It happens in the history of parties that they appropriate to themselves that which is agreeable to their passion of the moment, and they advance as moral that which is the greatest contradiction and refutation of what they have advanced in former times."

It does not do, of course, to overlook or underestimate the strength of party feeling in guiding the course of the average voter even where he is honest and patriotic.

Sir Henry Maine, in his work on "Popular Government," says that "party feeling is one of the strongest forces acting in human nature. Party feeling is probably far more of a survival of the primitive combativeness of mankind than a consequence of conscious intellectual differences between man and man. It is essentially the same sentiment which in certain states of society leads to civil, to inter-tribal, or international war; and it is as universal as humanity. It is said that Australian savages will travel half over the Australian continent to take in a fight the side of combatants who wear the same totem as themselves. In Southern India a series of dangerous riots are constantly arising through the rivalry of parties who know no more of one another than that some of them belong to the party of the right hand and others to that of the left hand."

Do not understand that I underestimate the value of national parties. Quite the contrary. I believe in them thoroughly. In national affairs, however, it is well that there should be well-defined party lines and party traditions to which the voters may attach themselves, and it is a great misfortune when those party lines are ruthlessly broken through and the party traditions ruthlessly set aside and a new alignment of voters is made necessary. At such periods much of the best energy of the people is wasted in the process of readjustment of the par-

ties, and great confusion and disorder is likely to result from the process.

In the domain of municipal politics, however, the absurdity of division on party lines is becoming more and more apparent to the average voter. The idea is no longer a fad; it has become a principle with many thousands of voters. Of course, in cities where the great political parties are more or less evenly divided, a rough kind of good government is secured by the independent voters in choosing the best man from the nominees of the respective parties. But in cities where one party or the other has a large numerical preponderance, as is the case in most of our large American cities, it requires almost a revolution in public sentiment to defeat candidates of the dominant party, however unqualified for their positions. Under these circumstances it has become a question no longer as to whether it is desirable to divorce municipal matters from national politics; but the question is how best to do it. How can we accomplish the best results with the least danger of harm to the body politic? The formation of good government clubs and of municipal leagues is a most encouraging proof that we are at last waking up to the exigencies of the situation. We are abandoning the ostrich policy of refusing to see dangers. We recognize that we have no right to rely upon the maxim of the witty Frenchman that "Providence takes care of children, drunken men and the United States," although it certainly does seem as if the maxim had heretofore come true. The real explanation of the maxim is, however, that notwithstanding all the apparent recklessness, party rancor, sectional hatred and absurd demagoguery which have from time to time shown themselves in our national history, the saving grace of American common-sense has eventually asserted itself and triumphed. Providence is on the side of common sense. What more notable example can we have of this than we saw at the close of the terrible war between the North and South? Intense passions had been aroused on both sides.

Extremists of the North clamored for absolute subjugation of the conquered; extremists of the South insisted on maintaining the spirit of hostility to the Union with a view to a possible rehabilitation of the "Lost Cause." American common sense in both sections reasserted itself. The spirit of magnanimity towards the conquered was met by the spirit of magnanimity towards the conqueror, a spirit still more notable because more difficult. Your noble Buckner and our noble Grant, fresh from the conflict of arms, put to shame the hatred and malice of pettier and meaner minds in the North and South. The great heart of the American people in both sections responded, and instead of a subjugated Poland or Ireland we see a reunited country with a flag and a Constitution as dear to the South as to the North.

In municipal matters the same spirit of common sense must reassert itself. We must refuse to be governed by political bosses and political banditti because their views may be sound on the tariff. We must make the people see that this is as ridiculous as it would be to welcome a burglar to our house in the dead of night because he was a Democrat, and to refuse the aid of the policeman because he was a Republican. As I have already said, however, we have made great progress in this direction. The analogy between a municipal corporation and a bank or a railroad as a business enterprise is becoming more and more appreciated by the people. Yesterday on my way out in the train I was greatly pleased and gratified by seeing in the morning papers a message from the mayor of my native city of Paterson, N. J. I shall only read a word or two from it, but it is an object lesson, and I want to remind you again that those things which seem to us matters of course were anything but matters of course twenty-five years ago. This mayor in his message to the Board of Aldermen says: "I look upon a city government in the same light as if it were a large commercial corporation of which the mayor may be considered the president, your honorable body the board of directors, and the people at large the

stockholders," and so he goes on. And that is one of the smaller cities of the country and where parties are evenly divided and party feeling runs very high. It has seemed to me that even a closer analogy exists between a municipal corporation and one of our great mutual life insurance companies. Take, for instance, one with which I am connected, having a body of policy holders of over two hundred and fifty thousand in number, each one of whom is entitled to a vote for directors of the company. How it would shock and outrage the moral sense of the whole community if party conventions should be called by the policy holders of the company and nominations be made for the position of directors based upon the party affiliations of the nominee, and if capable and faithful and efficient officers of the company should be turned out of their offices and new and inexperienced men be put in because of their views on national politics. At present, in the company to which I refer, the officers and directors are by the process of natural selection almost equally divided between the two great parties. Every one recognizes and all admit that to introduce the element of national politics into the election of directors in such a company would be monstrous in the extreme. Is it any less monstrous to apply the test of national politics in municipal elections? In fact a municipal corporation is a species of insurance company. In return for our premiums in the shape of taxes it insures us against fire, pestilence and violence. But in this audience I need not further dwell on the principles lying at the basis of true municipal government. I take it we are all substantially agreed on these principles. Questions as to methods are the questions which are uppermost in our minds.

We in New York city have made some progress in municipal reform; not as much as we had hoped for when we were electing our present mayor, but still some progress. Our mayor has made mistakes, but on the whole has distinctly elevated the tone of our city government. That he is personally honest and sincerely desirous of doing right nobody denies.

A brief retrospect of the history of our municipal politics

for the last fifteen years may not be uninteresting. I shall make it very short.

Some fifteen years ago a City Municipal League was organized which endeavored to arouse public sentiment in favor of business and non-partisan government. I had the misfortune to be a member of that League and on the executive committee. We nominated a city ticket which met with an inglorious disaster and overwhelming defeat, and we retired from the field disheartened and disorganized. A year or two afterwards there was a campaign for mayor, in which the Democrats of Tammany Hall and the Anti-Tammany Democrats nominated Abram S. Hewitt, one of the most able, honest, and patriotic men who ever graced a mayor's chair in any city. Henry George was nominated by the so-called Labor element. He was nominated on a platform appealing to class prejudices. Under those circumstances what had the United Democracy to expect? It would expect on any rational principle that every intelligent citizen who was opposed to the election of a mayor on class lines should join in the support of Mr. Hewitt.

On the contrary the Republicans insisted on nominating a party candidate, and nominated no less a man than my good friend, Theodore Roosevelt, who has subsequently, I trust, learned the error of his way, and he ran on the Republican ticket, with the result of almost defeating Mr. Hewitt. I believe I was mistaken in saying that there was a united Democracy. Mr. Hewitt was the Democratic, Anti-Tammany candidate, and there was also a Tammany candidate, and the result was the defeat of Mr. Hewitt, while Mr. George just escaped being elected mayor over all the candidates. That was only a few years ago. In 1890 we again tried the experiment of a non-partisan election. In that campaign the Anti-Tammany Democrats united with the Republicans in the nomination of a candidate for mayor. The Republicans refused to support that ticket, many of them, and many of the most intelligent Republicans. Some of my best friends told me they would not

vote for a Democrat, and the result was that the Tammany ticket was elected by an overwhelming majority. In 1891 we organized the City Club for the purpose of beginning a propaganda for city reform. In 1892 we felt that in the presidential year the time was unpropitious, and let the matter go by default. In 1894 we organized a Committee of Seventy, of which I had the honor to be a member. That Committee proceeded on lines which were by no means ideal. There was a coalition between the Republican party machine, the Anti-Tammany Democratic party (called the "State Democracy"), and "The German-American Reform party," largely composed of Anti-Tammany Democrats. Concessions were made in the way of nominations to each one of these factions, and the result was a ticket not altogether satisfactory to any one. The result was, however, in my judgment, a distinct benefit to the city, as compared to what would have happened if the coalition had not been made. I do not now regret the part I took in that movement, nor would I do differently were the situation again presented. Nor am I entirely prepared to agree with those extremists among the friends of good government who oppose political alliances at all times and under all circumstances in municipal matters. I think there are situations when such alliances are not only proper, but highly desirable. The situation presented in 1894 to us in New York was that of Tammany Hall entrenched in power, with a magnificent organization like a disciplined army at its back, with the prestige of party regularity and apparently the city in its complete control. A system of blackmail had been carried on by the police department which was simply awful. The science of bad government had been reduced to a fine art. The great point to be accomplished at that moment was to dislodge this army of misgovernment; to reassert the right of the people of New York to honest, intelligent business administration, and, to this end, to invite the co-operation of all who were opposed to Tammany's rule. The situation to-day is very different, and I think the

time is ripe for what we have undertaken in New York in the shape of our Citizens' Union, namely, the enrollment of a body of independent voters pledged to support a non-partisan ticket in the coming campaign. Whether success attends these efforts at the polls or not, this Union is bound to exert great educating influence upon the people and to be a power in future elections. Our situation is much complicated by the adoption of a Greater New York charter, which I cannot but look upon as a most reckless and ill-advised piece of legislation. The difficulties of our situation are immeasurably increased thereby.

We of the present city of New York are to be yoked up, not only with our great sister city of Brooklyn, but with a large number of outlying municipalities in all stages of development and with many square miles of territory still in the market-garden stage of civilization. The difficulty of uniting the votes of all those heterogeneous communities into an organized movement for municipal reform is stupendous. While each of these communities had its own autonomy it was possible to arouse public sentiment in any one of them against the particular set of public plunderers who happened to be in power, and it was possible to detach, temporarily, at least, a large body of voters from blind party allegiance. To arouse the spirit of revolt throughout such a large territory, with such diverse interests as we have now to deal with, and to combine the voters in a common cause and in support of a Citizens' Municipal ticket, is a task the magnitude of which can hardly be understood by one who has taken no part in such efforts in the more limited and compact sphere hitherto existing. The coalition of these various municipalities into one Greater New York must necessarily tend to lessen the local public spirit of each portion of the community. However, we must take the situation as we find it and must bring to bear upon it renewed energies.

I am happy to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that the citizens generally still propose to carry on the fight, and to

carry it on as courageously as we can and to carry it on to the end.

The question constantly pressed upon us is : Is there any use in chasing rainbows ? The answer is : We are not chasing rainbows, but chasing the sunlight of sound reason. To those of us who have no offices to seek or lose the problem is comparatively a simple one. We are aiming, not at immediate success, but at grand results in the long run. Even in the domain of national politics immediate success at the sacrifice of principle is a costly victory. Reaction is sure to come and that right speedily.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF PROVIDENCE.

HON. EDWIN D. MCGUINNESS,

Mayor of Providence.

An examination of the political condition existing in the city of Providence will, I think, prove, in many respects, of peculiar interest to the student of municipal government in the United States. In order to properly understand the subject it is necessary to note at the outset the division of the electors in the State of Rhode Island, under the terms of its constitution, into four different classes, which naturally are grouped under two heads.

First. Property Voters, consisting of every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years (*a*) who has had his residence and home in the State for one year and in the town or city in which he may claim a right to vote, six months preceding the time of voting, and who is really and truly possessed in his own right of real estate in such town or city of the value of one hundred and thirty-four dollars over and above all incumbrances, or which shall rent for seven dollars per annum over and above any rent reserved or the interest of any incumbrances thereon, being an estate in fee simple, fee tail, for the life of any person, or an estate in reversion or remainder, which qualifies no other person to vote, the conveyance of which estate, if by deed, shall have been recorded at least ninety days; or (*b*) who, having had his residence and home in the State for two years, and in the town or city in which he may offer to vote six months next preceding the time of his voting, and whose name shall have been registered in the town or city where he resides

on or before the last day of December in the year next preceding the time of his voting, in said year shall have paid a tax assessed on his property therein, valued at least at one hundred and thirty-four dollars. Such electors have a right to vote in the election of all civil officers and on all questions in all town or ward meetings.

Second. Registry Voters, embracing every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, who has had his residence and home in the State for two years, and in the town or city in which he may offer to vote, six months next preceding the time of his voting, and whose name shall be registered in the town or city where he resides on or before the last day in December in the year next preceding the time of his voting. These electors have a right to vote in the elections of all civil officers and on all questions in all town or ward meetings, except in the election of the city council of any city, or upon any proposition to impose a tax, or for the expenditure of money in any town or city. It will be observed that a residence of but one year in the State, preceding the time of voting, is required of the real estate voter, while a residence of two years is necessary for all other voters, including those who, having paid a tax on property, have all the electoral rights of real estate voters. These last-mentioned property voters must, in addition to a residence of two years, have registered in like manner as registry voters, and also have paid the tax assessed, while, on the other hand, registry voters are not compelled to pay a tax as a prerequisite to voting, and in the case of a voter on real estate, payment of the tax is not required, the mere ownership of the estate being sufficient.

We have now considered, first, voters qualified by ownership of real estate ; second, voters who have paid a tax assessed on property, this class being made up of personal property taxpayers and those who have paid a tax assessed on real estate and who subsequently convey such real estate before the time of voting, and third, registry voters.

These three classes include all voters who have a right to vote in elections for city officers. There is a fourth class of electors designated in our State constitution, commonly called certificate voters. This class contains those who, possessing the qualifications of real estate voters in regard to age, residence and citizenship, are owners of real estate within the State but outside the limits of the city or town where the voter resides. Such voters upon producing a prescribed certificate of such ownership of real estate from the clerk of the town or city in which the estate lies, within ten days of the time of voting, are entitled to vote for presidential electors, representatives in Congress and State officers, but not for any municipal officers.

In this connection the question is naturally asked why the sum of \$134 was fixed as the amount of property necessary to qualify a property voter. A well-known authority on Rhode Island history, Mr. S. S. Rider, says: "A property qualification was first introduced into the laws in 1665 and has ever since been and now is in part retained. In 1760 the amount was forty pounds lawful money. In 1763 'lawful money' was defined to be gold or silver. After the decimal system came into use the mode of reckoning was changed into dollars. Thus in forty pounds are eight hundred shillings, which at six shillings to the dollar, which was then New England currency, is equal to \$133.33; by the law of 1798 the sum was made \$134, and so it has always since remained."

The municipal election in our city is held annually on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November. There are elected at that time, on a ticket at large, a mayor, city treasurer, harbor master, and overseer of the poor, and in each voting district a warden and clerk for the voting district, and in each ward one member of the school committee. For such officers all electors, except certificate holders, have a right to vote. At the same election, in each of the ten wards of the city, there are elected on a ward ticket one alderman and four members of the common council, and for these only the property voters have a

right to vote. By reason of the constitutional division of voters already indicated, two separate lists of voters and two distinct kinds of ballots are always to be found at our municipal elections, the ballot given to the property voter containing in addition to the names on the ballot furnished to the registry voter the names of the candidates for alderman and common council. As the last municipal election occurred on the same day as the presidential election, there was a third ballot and a third list of voters, certificate voters being entitled to vote this third ballot for presidential electors and representative in Congress. The secret ballot system is in use in our city.

The mayor, aldermen, and common council in their joint capacity constitute the City Council and all city ordinances and joint resolutions must pass both branches by concurrent vote, and, excepting resolutions of adjournment, must be approved by the mayor, or passed by a three-fifths vote of all the members elected in each branch over his veto. At all meetings of the City Council in convention the mayor presides, but has only a casting vote. The mayor and aldermen compose one board and sit and act together as one body, at all meetings whereof the mayor presides, but has only a casting vote. Notwithstanding the fact that all electors, property as well as registry, have a right to vote in the elections for mayor, it sometimes happens that the passage of an appropriation ordinance or an increase of the tax rate is decided by his casting vote.

The mayor, by the language of the charter, is declared to be the chief executive officer of the city, whose duty it is to be at all times vigilant and active in causing the laws to be executed and enforced. His power to make appointments and removals of heads of departments and subordinate officials is not extensive, nor, save in a few unimportant cases, is it absolute. Every three years he has, with the approval of the Board of Aldermen, the power to appoint for a term of three years a Commissioner of Public Works, who has the management and control of highways, bridges, and sewers. Subject to the ap-

proval of the Board of Aldermen, he has the power of appointment of the deputy chief, seven captains, seven lieutenants and sixteen sergeants of police and a clerk of police. He may also remove any police officer whenever, in his opinion, the interests of the city require such removal. The police force, being an essential factor in the preservation of peace and the enforcement of the laws, the mayor has the power in any emergency, of which he shall be the judge, to take full charge of the whole or any part of the police force.

The power in former years vested in and exercised by the City Council to manage, through committees, various departments of the city government has been in recent years, to a large extent, curtailed, and such control has been placed in commissions. These commissions are appointed in many different ways, and in their tenure of office there is a like absence of uniformity. The one single-headed commission, that of public works, already referred to, is the only one appointed by the mayor. This appointment is, as I have said, subject to the approval of the Board of Aldermen. The commissioners of sinking funds, consisting of three members, with certain *ex officio* members, are elected, one each year, for a term of three years by concurrent vote of the City Council. The park commissioners, three in number, are likewise elected by concurrent vote, one each year, for a term of three years. The Board of License Commissioners, or Excise Board, five in number, are all elected at the same time, for a term of five years, in joint convention. This board, as originally constituted, was composed of three members, appointed by the mayor, one each year, for a term of three years ; but the number, term and manner of appointment of the commissioners were afterwards changed by the State Legislature—a change, to my mind, from the best system to the worst. The Board of Fire Commissioners, three in number, are elected in joint convention, one each year, for a term of three years. The assessors of taxes, three in number, are also elected for a term of three years, one each year, in joint con-

vention. The police department is under the management of a chief of police, elected in joint convention for a term of three years. The members of the police force are appointed by him, by and with the consent of the mayor and aldermen, sitting as one board. The general supervision of the police force is in the mayor and aldermen, sitting as one body. The Board of Aldermen is the board of health, and the superintendent of health is elected for a term of three years, in joint convention. The school committee, in addition to certain *ex officio* members, is made up of thirty members, elected by wards, three from each ward, one elected each year, for a term of three years. Section 1 of Article IV of our State Constitution reads: "No person shall be eligible to any civil office (except the office of school committee) unless he be a qualified voter for such office." Under the exception therein made women are eligible to and are members of the school committee, although not entitled to vote for such office. This is the only elective office in the State to which women are eligible.

There remains one other commission to be noticed, which in the manner of appointment is most peculiar, namely, the commissioners of the Dexter Donation. In 1824 there died in Providence, then a town, a rich and philanthropic citizen, Ebenezer Knight Dexter, a native of the place, who left the bulk of his estate to his native town for the use and support for the poor of said town, in such way as said town in any meeting legally holden should decide, provided however that no vote of any such town meeting, in relation to the management of said donation, should be of any force unless forty freemen at least be present at the time of passing such vote. Pursuant to the conditions of the will there is annually held in the common council chamber a town meeting of the freemen, or property voters, of the city. At this meeting, which is advertised by notice of the city clerk, and to which at the time set the freemen of the city are summoned to attend by the ringing of the city bells, after a moderator has been first chosen to preside, business relating to said

Dexter Donation is transacted, at least forty freemen being present, and in open town meeting five persons are chosen as commissioners of the Dexter Donation to direct, with the mayor, who is *ex officio* chairman, the management and improvement of the donation during the ensuing year. Thus, in a city of over 150,000 population, incorporated since 1832, is annually to be seen a typical New England town meeting.

One principal point to be observed in a consideration of the affairs of our city is the comparatively limited power vested in the mayor and the absence of any definite fixed responsibility in the appointment of the commissions named, whether by approval of the Board of Aldermen, by concurrent vote or in joint convention. The principle of fixing the responsibility for appointments on the chief executive and holding him to a strict accountability for his actions is to my mind the correct one in theory, but has not been adopted in our city. There is at the present time a commission consisting of the mayor and a joint commission of citizens and members of the City Council, appointed by him, to prepare a draft of a new city charter, and it is hoped that at an early day a report will be submitted containing such recommendations of amendments to the charter as the needs of a modern, progressive city imperatively demand. In this connection I may say that in our State there has been no adoption of any civil service rules in regard to appointments, a much-needed addition to our legislation, which I hope will not be long deferred. During the past year the competitive merit system was applied by the mayor in the appointment to fill a vacancy in a police sergenty with excellent results and it is his intention to follow this precedent whenever an opportunity occurs.

It is not, however, so much from its internal management and government that our city has cause for complaint as from the unwarranted and pernicious interference of the State Legislature in the internal affairs of the municipality. In late years the doctrine of home rule for cities has been entirely ignored by the General Assembly of the State in its conduct towards the city of

Providence. Among many instances of this vicious interference the most flagrant was the passage of an act giving to a local street railway company and a local electric lighting company a twenty years' exclusive franchise in our city not only without any request on the part of the city for such action, but in the face of its opposition, and to its manifest detriment and injury. And here again the peculiar conditions existing in Providence induce such interference. The unequal and disproportionate representation of Providence in the General Assembly of the State, a condition of affairs which can be remedied only by an amendment of the constitution, makes such violation of the principle of municipal home rule possible to a greater degree than in other States. According to the last State census the population of Providence was 37.8 per cent. of the total population of the State. Yet with this proportion of population it has but one Senator out of thirty-six in the State Senate, and but twelve Representatives out of seventy-two in the House of Representatives, or, in other words, practically 38 per cent. of the population has a representation of less than 3 per cent. in the Senate and less than 17 per cent. in the popular branch. Towns in the State, which are decreasing in population, continue to have in the State Senate a representation equal to that of the city of Providence, the population of which is steadily increasing, and which pays nearly one-half the whole State tax, while in the House of Representatives several towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants are entitled to one Representative while the city of Providence has but one for every 12,500. This manifestly unfair representation, and the injurious legislative interference with our city made possible thereby, is a most serious menace to our city and one fraught with the greatest danger. In response to persistent and vigorous demands for a change in the fundamental law of the State, a commission of fifteen, appointed by the Governor to revise the constitution of the State, is at present engaged in this work of revision. The proper adjustment of the representation in the General Assembly in proportion to popula-

tion, the recognition of the principle of home rule for cities and other important amendments have already been submitted to the consideration of this commission.

I have endeavored thus briefly to present to you a statement of the municipal conditions of one of our oldest New England cities. The tendency to change with us is very slow and conservative. We hold fast to our time-honored customs and laws until we are convinced of the necessity for change. The charter granted to us in 1663 by King Charles II was our fundamental law till the adoption of the present constitution in 1842, since which time there has been no general revision of it. We realize that in many ways there may be opportunity for an improving change in our municipal charter, and that what was best adapted in the way of governmental methods to the needs of a small town, will not meet the necessities and requirements of a large and progressive city. In the efforts made for better municipal government and conditions in our city, the Municipal League of Providence has, in the brief period of its existence, done most effective work and accomplished surprising results. It was an outgrowth of a good government movement among some public spirited citizens, who, in the municipal election in 1895, had supported certain Good Government candidates for aldermen and councilmen, and had succeeded in electing candidates in three wards of the city. The first public meeting of the League was held on April 27th of last year. In the fall election for mayor and City Council, which occurred last year, the Democratic candidate for mayor, endorsed by the League and Good Government Party, was elected by a plurality of over 9,000 votes, and at the same time the Republican presidential electors were elected by a plurality of over 7,000. The candidates of the Municipal League for aldermen and councilmen were, in the several wards, with one or two exceptions, elected. In the State election last month the League nominated a Legislative ticket with one of the Republican presidential electors for Senator, and a Representative ticket composed of men belong-

ing to both national parties. This ticket was in the main endorsed by the Democrats, and the League candidate for Senator and nine out of twelve of its candidates for Representatives were elected by pluralities ranging from 2,500 to 3,000. This is a notable example of the triumph of citizenship over partisanship and the obliteration of national party lines in the election of municipal officers. The League has also appointed a special committee to appear before the commission appointed to revise the State constitution and to advocate changes in our fundamental law which will prevent in the future all unjust interference with the internal affairs of the city by the Legislature, and the enactment of all such other necessary amendments as will tend to improve the political conditions under which we live.

THE MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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Municipal government in New Haven is at a turning point in its history. The Elm City, which for sixteen years has lived under its present unsatisfactory charter, is now awaiting the grant by the State Legislature of a new charter, which, in the opinion of many, will be a great improvement on the old. Together with the adoption of the new charter it is hoped there will be enacted a law consolidating the town and school district governments with the city government, so as to bring about complete unity in local administration.

The complex character of the present local government is a phenomenon more common in Connecticut, where the town is the unit of local government, than elsewhere in the United States. There are in New Haven three separate organs of local government, the city, the town and the school district, each of which has separate functions to discharge and possesses separate powers for laying taxes and borrowing money. In no case are the areas of jurisdiction coterminous, although the town includes both city and school district. The city now discharges most of the functions of local government, except the care of the poor and public education. Naturally, the functions of the town government are comparatively meagre, yet every year the voters of New Haven are called upon to cast their ballots for nearly one hundred unimportant town officers, while in this city of one hundred thousand persons the interested student of political science can annually see in actual operation that

notable example of pure democracy, the town meeting. The natural result of such a hybrid system has been inefficient, irresponsible and wasteful administration.

More than forty years ago the difficulties of the system were realized, and some effort was made to secure unity of administration. All attempts thus far have proved fruitless, although, with the growth of the city in population, the need of consolidation has grown the more pressing. One constitutional objection has existed to the change, because the Constitution of Connecticut imposes upon the selectmen of the town the duty of admitting new voters to the right of suffrage. This difficulty can easily be provided for. The most potent and successful opposition has come from the property-owners living on the outskirts of the town, within the limits of the town, but outside the jurisdiction of the city. They have paid only town taxes on their property, while incidentally they have enjoyed many of the advantages of city government.

New Haven was the first city in Connecticut to be chartered, and it was incorporated before the Constitution of the United States became the fundamental law of our Republic. At that time the area of the city which was created, with certain local functions within the town, was a small core, or nucleus, at the heart of the town. During the lapse of a century that core has steadily grown larger, while the outlying zone, where the town's authority is exclusive, has steadily shrunk. The valuation of the property is less than one twenty-fifth part of the total valuation of the city and town combined, while about one-sixteenth of all the registered voters of the town, who live in this small area, have been allowed to block the way to consolidation, because it has been contended that these districts of the town should not be annexed to the city against their will. It has been a just claim of such property-owners that they ought not to be made to pay city taxes on land that was largely agricultural and was not used for residential purposes. But such objections to consolidation are in

no way conclusive, for some equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation on such property can be devised. In Philadelphia it has been done, by authorizing the assessors to classify such property into "suburban" and "farm" property, which are taxed respectively at two-thirds and one-half the full city rate. Under the new consolidation act, the parts of the town now outside the city ought to be compelled to unite with the city, under a proviso securing an equitable adjustment of taxation. Then, the two main functions now exclusively discharged by the town, viz., the care of the poor and the assessment of property, will be assumed by city officials appointed by the mayor. All expenditures will be determined and all taxes be imposed by one local authority. Even if the present charter is not changed, to have secured complete unity in local government will be a gratifying gain.

Municipal government in New Haven has suffered, and still suffers, from that blight of municipal government in other cities, viz., interference by the State Legislature. As New York has been governed from Albany, so New Haven has often been governed from Hartford. The wishes of a majority of its voters have had little weight in the legislative halls, and Home Rule has been an iridescent dream. The peculiarly antiquated Constitution of Connecticut, with its rotten borough system of representation in the State Legislature, has served to intensify this evil. Connecticut is now a manufacturing State, with growing cities and declining country towns. Yet the system of representation in the lower branch of the Legislature, that allows only two representatives to each town, was framed in 1818 for a rural Commonwealth with no cities of any size. This system has never been changed. Accordingly, New Haven, with one hundred thousand inhabitants, has the same representation as a little country town with six hundred. The result has been that, while the State has voted for four Democratic candidates for the Presidency in the last twenty years, the Legislature has been strongly Republican. Until recently, New

Haven has had a very large Democratic majority, but all changes in its charter have been usually dictated by a few Republican leaders in the city.

Two years ago a duly authorized commission, composed of excellent representatives of both parties, framed an admirable charter, and asked the Legislature to enact it into law. Though they were supported in this request by the best citizens of New Haven, the legislative committee promptly gave them leave to withdraw. They asked for bread and were given a stone. To the surprise of everyone, the Legislature passed an amendment to the charter, taking from the aldermen the appointment of fire and police commissioners and providing that two out of the six should be elected annually by the voters. At this election, though two are to be chosen, only one can be voted for by any voter. Consequently the contest is decided, not at the polls, but in the party caucus. When a successful wire-puller has got the nomination he has practically secured his election. This method is quite an anomaly in the history of municipal government, and it is an open question whether it is constitutional. It is popularly ascribed to the inventive genius of some of the Republican leaders, and its brief life will probably be snuffed out by the passage of the new charter. To this interference and dominance of our Legislature over city affairs may be ascribed two of the worst faults of the present charter, viz., the weakness of the mayor's power, and the bi-partisan arrangement in forming the main executive boards. The mayor of New Haven, at present, is little more than a figurehead. He appoints the Board of Health; but the more important boards, the Police Commissioners, the Fire Commissioners, and the Commissioners of Public Works, have been, until recently, chosen by the Board of Aldermen. From 1874 to 1881, the mayor had the power to appoint the five commissioners then constituting each of these important boards, subject to ratification by the aldermen. This is the general custom in American cities, unless the mayor has the power of absolute appointment. This system of giving

the mayor qualified power of appointment was satisfactory to most citizens of New Haven, but not to the Republican leaders, who, though their party was in a large minority in the city, demanded an equal share in the patronage and power of these executive boards. The Legislature, of course, heeded their wishes, rather than the desires of the people of New Haven.

The new charter granted in 1881 provided that these executive boards should be composed of six members, three from each party, and that is the system now in force. The history of this vicious system of bi-partisan boards, a system peculiar to American municipal government, has been in New Haven much the same as in other cities, viz., one of unsatisfactory administration, and of practical failure. Of the record of the fire department, it may be said that it has been quite satisfactory, because, for many years, it had an efficient chief, who would not allow politics to taint, nor favoritism to demoralize, its discipline. But the chronicle of the Police Board, and of the Board of Public Works, is the familiar story of factional fights, prolonged deadlock, struggle for petty patronage, and division on national party lines, all of which have tended to demoralize discipline, and to foster insidious corruption. One board has carried on its payrolls inefficient laborers, who would have found it hard to obtain employment from private individuals, while the other board has been trying for two years, without success, to elect a new chief of police. The personnel of the Board of Police Commissioners, it should fairly be said, has lately been much improved. The manufacturers of mineral waters and temperance drinks, who formerly used their official position to protect their respective customers among saloon-keepers, have been in part supplanted by citizens much better fitted for the position. This change is due to the persistent and strenuous efforts of municipal reformers.

Such has been the specific effect of the interference in city affairs by the Legislature, where a party, usually in a minority in the whole State, has, by an unjust system, obtained the pow-

ers of the majority. Its general effect has been to perpetuate and strengthen that dangerous feature of municipal government in America, viz, the conduct of municipal affairs on national party lines. The very form of bi-partisan municipal boards signifies approval of that principle. Both parties in this city have always acted upon the supposition that a man's opinion on questions of national policy has some intimate connection with the discharge of his duties as a municipal official. It is really disheartening to see what a hold this foolish idea has on the minds of many excellent citizens. For the last three years the Republicans have controlled the city government, which before that had been in Democratic hands. During this time they have administered affairs in the most rigorous partisan spirit, as if confident that there would never be any backward swing of the pendulum.

Their watchword seems to have been, "Put none but Republicans on guard." Local patriotism and the general welfare of the city are subordinated to fealty to party. The crack of the party whip sounds prompt and loudly over anyone who shows signs of independence. In the last city election the bosses forced two regular Republican candidates for city office to resign as candidates on an independent citizens' ticket, on which they had been placed. A Young Men's Republican Club, composed of energetic youths, make a most efficient machine. Their aim, apparently, is not to get the best men for the government of the city, but to force their own political favorites into office. In the city affairs, though there is no gross corruption, there is constant tendency to petty favoritism and jobbery. A most flagrant instance has just transpired in the extravagant and costly advertising of street sprinkling assessments, in three favored newspapers, which have not the largest circulation, but count among their directors the mayor and the corporation counsel.

It is this lack, on the part of officials, of a delicate sense of official honor, and a failure to realize that "Public office is a public trust" for the benefit of the whole city, and not of one party, or the other, which disgusts many of our citizens.

Such partisan action, with human nature as it is, simply breeds partisan retaliation when a political overturn comes. The day of such change draweth nigh. Then the Democrats will have their innings, and, in a spirit of revenge, will doubtless show equally strong partisanship.

In this alternating struggle over the swill-trough of political patronage the public interest and general welfare are sure to suffer, while many a citizen is disposed to say in disgust and despair, "A plague on both your houses."

New Haven, like every other city, needs to be leavened with the righteous doctrine; that municipal affairs should be divorced from national party politics; that self-seeking should be discouraged; that honest worth should be the passport to official station, and not hustling abilities, and that a freeman should scorn to wear the collar, or bow beneath the lash of a party boss. Providence, R. I., pointed the way for loyal citizens, when, in the stress of a Presidential election, she re-elected a Democratic mayor by almost as large a majority as she gave for President McKinley. This independent sentiment finds its rallying ground in New Haven in the Good Government Club, whose candidates in the last two city elections have received generous support.

The new charter also embodies in statute law some of the measures it has advocated for the city. The main lines of the charter were drawn and established by a self-constituted committee, composed entirely of Republicans.

The authorship of the charter itself is not authoritatively known. The fact that the nominal framers of the charter are all Republicans is at once a disadvantage and an advantage. The prejudice of their political opponents was immediately aroused, because it came from a partisan source. On the other hand, with Republicans as its original sponsors, and ratified by the present Republican council, it goes before the Legislature with a prestige which seems likely to secure its final enactment.

The charter is a distinct improvement upon the present one, although it has some objectionable features. The council is two-chambered, contrary to the universal custom outside the United States and the general custom of this country. As Dr. Livermore, in "The Republic of New Haven," says: "There is and has been no respectable reason for the existence of the lower council. It is in many respects merely an additional house of refuge for the ambitious aspirant and the corner-grocery politician." But it was impossible to budge the charter-makers on this point. Then an effort was made to improve the personnel of future councils by providing for aldermen at large. But at this point they were also obdurate. The constituencies of both boards are exactly the same, the members differing only in the length of the term of office.

This year the Massachusetts Legislature has amended the Boston charter, so that the municipal council is to consist of only one body, which is to be made up both of aldermen at large and of those elected from the different wards. The New York Legislature has also passed a general law providing a charter for all cities of the second class, namely, those ranging in population from 50,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, in which the council will consist of a single chamber. But argument has been unavailing to persuade our charter committee to alter the old, unusual method of having a two-chambered council elected upon the same basis of representation from exactly the same constituencies.

In order to get the best available citizens to serve in the council, an effort was made to render it possible for the voters of each ward to choose, if they so desired, their representative from any portion of the city, and not from the narrow limits of the ward. The charter-makers wisely dropped from the new charter the objectionable words in the old charter, which prescribed that the representatives of the ward should live in the ward, but, with a curious timidity, they refused to state exactly, and in explicit terms, what is now implied, namely, that the

voters of any ward may choose as their representative in the council any citizen of the city. Local prejudice, to be sure, on this point is very strong in this country, but it is to be hoped that the voters of some of our wards will follow the custom prevailing in England, of choosing the best possible representative, wherever he can be found within the city limits.

A most notable feature of the new charter is the responsibility which it imposes upon the mayor by giving him large power of absolute appointment. Thus it will be in his power to determine the quality of the city administration, and, instead of being little more than a figurehead, he can be the energizing power of the city government. He will have the right to appoint all the members of the School Board, who are now elected by the voters. He is to choose, absolutely, all the chief executive boards. The fire commissioners will number five, and he is not allowed to appoint more than three from the same political party. The Board of Public Works will have a single head. The composition of the Police Board is to remain the same as now, the six members being evenly divided between each party, but they are to be appointed by the mayor, instead of being elected by the people.

In Section 66 a most important proviso is found which will prevent a scandal that has taken place under the present charter. No fire or police commissioner is allowed to be, directly or indirectly, interested in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, or bottled drinks, and no commissioner nor member of the city council may go on the bond of a liquor seller, or an applicant for license to sell liquor.

A most welcome novelty in the new charter is the provision for a civil service board, consisting of the heads of the police and fire departments, and three citizens appointed by the mayor. They are to prescribe methods for ascertaining the competency of applicants for positions in the police and fire departments, and most subordinate officials in the city government. After such rules for testing the merits of applicants are adopted,

no removals of office holders can be made, except for a sufficient reason, not political. Certainly, if these provisions are earnestly and efficiently carried out, the day of the redemption of our city government from the spoils system is at hand. The mayor, also, is given absolute power of removal of all his appointees, on written statement of his reasons, but the removed official has the right of appeal to the superior court, which must revoke or approve the act of the mayor within a week.

In the time prescribed for city election a most desirable change has been made. At present the city election comes just a month after the State or national election. Then, the impulse of national party affiliation is still powerful and dominant. With one side elated with victory, and the other sullen through defeat, the natural tendency is to have the contest for the city government fought out on party lines, and the alignment of voters comes, not on the basis of good and clean city government, but on questions of national policy. Under the new charter the city elections will come on the third Tuesday of April. This will make it more easy to obtain a general adoption among many voters of the righteous principle that "the affairs of a city should be administered independently of national and State politics, and that local officers be chosen solely with reference to their qualifications."

Unity in financial administration is secured by the act of consolidation, so that all expenditures will be controlled, and all taxes levied, by the city. This makes the board of finance an exceedingly important body. It is to be composed of the mayor, the comptroller, a member of the board of aldermen, and three citizens who hold no other office in the city government. Upon them is conferred, in a large degree, the budget-making power, with some limitations. They make the annual estimate of appropriation, and decide the rate of taxation, which is reported to the council. Such decisions upon the appropriation and rate of taxation is final, unless changed by a two-thirds vote of each board of the common council.

These are the main outlines of the proposed charter, which will probably soon be part of the statute law of this Commonwealth. If, under it, our municipal government in the future is not superior to that of the past, it will be the fault of those citizens who contentedly, or indifferently, submit to the partisan rule of the boss, and have no earnest desire that the city government should be administered on business principles, and by strict business methods.

In conclusion, the probable adoption of this new charter has one lesson of encouragement for all municipal reformers, viz., that they should never give up fighting for their principles, for the day of partial, if not complete, victory is likely to come, sooner or later. They need the quality popularly attributed to the athletes of a certain university, "that they should never know when they are licked." Two years ago the outlook for charter reform was exceedingly discouraging, when the careful and painstaking labor of a competent commission was summarily rejected by the legislature. To-day they see many of the principles which they advocated adopted by those who had been opposed to them and about to be engrafted on the statute book. The situation is not new in history. It recalls the action of Sir Robert Peel on a larger stage, when he reversed the Tory policy of opposition to Richard Cobden, and repealed the Corn Laws. Municipal reformers gladly recognize here some likeness between their airy position and that of the Cobdenites, so wittily described by Disraeli in his famous bon mot about Sir Robert Peel:

"He caught the Whigs in bathing and ran away with their clothes."

NOTE.—Since this address was delivered, the Connecticut Legislature has enacted the charter in substantially the form which has been described. It also passed the law providing for consolidation in case the outlying wards, which are part of the town but not of the city, gave their consent. These, at a special election, voted in favor of consolidation, so that now unity of administration has been attained, and practically all functions of local government are exercised by the city.

MUNICIPAL REFORMS IN ROCHESTER.

JOSEPH T. ALLING, ESQ.,President, Rochester Good Government Club.

The word "reform" predicates a previous unreformed condition. Excellence is always relative, not absolute. Permit me, therefore, to measure the municipal reforms of Rochester, N. Y., not merely by the height to which we have risen, but as well by the depth from which we have come. Let us look for a moment at the condition of affairs two years ago.

Rochester was entirely in the hands of a machine, or, as it was euphemistically termed, "The Organization," which, in that particular city, happened to be the Republican organization. Through it we lived, moved and had our being. It nominated and elected whom it willed, voted money as it listed, and spent it as it pleased. It was absolutism entrenched behind the name of the dominant party, and, like all absolute monarchies, it had its ruler, whom we called "The Boss."

It is, therefore, hardly necessary to say that the affairs of the city were in a loose and unsatisfactory condition. Its finances were badly handled, the accounts of the various departments largely overdrawn, public indebtedness concealed from the people, bonded indebtedness accumulating, the public service of the city used largely for political purposes rather than for the best interests of the city, and the requirements of the civil service law so deliberately evaded, that the chief examiner of the State of New York reported that "the enforcement of the civil service law in that city (Rochester) has been practically abandoned, 131 out of 135 appointments to the fire department having been made in defiance of the law."

In May, 1895, a few of our citizens attended the Conference of the National Municipal League that was held in Cleveland. They went as listeners. They returned transformed into workers. What others were doing they would try to do. A conference was called. The six or eight who were present adjourned to meet again, each bringing an interested friend. After two or three such meeting, a Declaration of Principles was adopted, a plan of campaign formulated, and an Organization Committee appointed.

Our declaration was as compact as possible, being as follows :

"We believe that the proper conduct of city affairs is impossible when they are controlled by political rather than business considerations.

"Without renouncing loyalty to the party of our choice in State and national issues, we hereby affirm our purpose to disregard party in municipal elections, and vote for the men who stand on the following platform :

"1. City government on Business Principles, in the interest of the people, not in the interest of any ring or party.

"2. City Appointments and Removals according to Fitness, not because of party membership or political influence."

This was printed on little cards about six by eight inches in size, with places left below for ten signatures with residence and ward.

These cards were taken by our committee, and people were asked to sign them if they approved our platform. Moreover, we asked each signer to take a book and get ten more signers, and return the books by mail.

Next we sent circulars to these new signers asking them to apply for more books, and work. All this effort was put forth in the name of the "Good Government Club," and not in the name of any individual. The idea took hold of the public, and soon everyone was talking about it. The newspapers reported it. The names came pouring in, until some 1,500 cards had been wholly or partly filled, and about 7,000 names were on

our books. These names were indexed, both alphabetically and by wards, and were examined as carefully as time would allow, unless vouched for by the party who had secured the signatures, and whose name was attached to the card.

When the movement had reached this point, the signers were called together by wards, organized into ward clubs, and delegates chosen to form a central body. The protest had developed into a revolt, and, with a swiftness that was entirely unexpected, the revolt soon ripened into a revolution. This central body, consisting of sixty-five men, became a leading factor in the election which followed. It nominated a full city ticket, choosing for the head of it a gentleman who held the office of judge in a city court. He was a Democrat, while a large majority of the Committee who nominated him were Republicans. He accepted our nomination on the platform above quoted, and all our other candidates did the same thing. Our ticket was so manifestly a strong one, and the leader was so prominent and popular a Democrat, that the regular nominating convention of that party subsequently endorsed the whole ticket.

The heavy end of the fighting, however, fell upon the Good Government Club, who attacked the existing city government on the rostrum and in the newspapers. Scores of meetings were held in all the wards, and great mass meetings were organized at central points. When we protested against the existing state of affairs, we were met with strenuous denials and loud abuse. We were called "wild-eyed reformers," "cheap orators," "contemptible busy-bodies," "half-baked schemers," and other pleasant and high-sounding names. We were told by the city officials and party newspapers that the city of Rochester was "distinguished for its prudent and economical management."

After the hottest campaign in many years we elected our candidate for mayor by a majority of 671 votes over the Republican nominee, although on the State ticket there was a Repub-

lican majority of 5,113 in the city. We lost the election of our two candidates for Board of Public Works by 199 and 561 votes respectively, and as the largest part of the patronage and public work of the city is in the hands of this Board, the machine still remains in power. Many exultant enemies and faint-hearted friends thought the Good Government movement had come to naught, and that all our efforts had been in vain, but that was not true, for we had gained enough of a foothold so that public affairs could no longer be conducted in the dark. The mayor has used the veto power persistently against extravagant and purely partisan measures. He has been repeatedly over-ridden, but his vetoes have aroused public opinion and awakened many who were formerly indifferent to official actions. One honest and able man in the common council turned the light on to the financial affairs of the city. For years the policy of the various boards of aldermen had been to make moderate tax levies, and issue deficiency notes for the shortages at the end of each year. Meanwhile the bonded indebtedness was steadily increasing, and when a complete statement of the resources and liabilities of the city was made for the first time in many years at the demand of a Good Government alderman, it was shown that the municipal indebtedness was more than \$700,000 in excess of the constitutional limit of 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation. Efforts were immediately made to decrease the expenditures and indebtedness. Old arrearages and deficiency notes that were being carried along by borrowing, in order not to alarm the tax payers, were brought to public notice, and put into the tax levy. These efforts were strenuously opposed by many of the members of the common council, but were cheerfully approved by the tax payers, who paid last year the largest tax rate known in the history of Rochester, recognizing pretty generally that it was simply the process known as "paying the piper" for the actions of previous years.

Efforts were made also to reduce expenditures by cutting

the salaries of the more highly paid city officials, and by discharging unnecessary employes, many of whom were being carried on the rolls of the departments. These efforts, too, were opposed by the machine, and were only partly successful, though some \$50,000 was saved in this way. Nothing was done to cripple the city in any way. The pay of the teachers, firemen, policemen and ordinary employes of the city has not been cut down, the efficiency of the city service and its necessary development have not been interfered with, but the city indebtedness has been decreased nearly half a million dollars; money which had been taken out of the sinking fund and used for municipal expenditures has been partially replaced, and for the first time in many years almost every department has closed the financial year with a balance to its credit.

The civil service law, too, has been enforced to the discomfort of many office seekers, Mayor Warner having instructed his new civil service commissioners to enforce the law according to the spirit, and without distinctions of persons. About 1,300 persons have been examined for positions in the public service, and although the departments offered stubborn resistance, practically all the employes of the city above the grade of laborers, and not exempt by law from civil service rules, hold their positions to-day by virtue of appointments made upon certification by the civil service commission after the examinations provided by the statute. There have been many attempts to gain exemption, and to get office by the familiar method of a "good pull," but there are only a few cases in which the law has been ingeniously evaded by the appointing power, and these we hope to reach in the near future. New civil service rules have been formulated, and will soon be issued, providing for the thorough operation of the system, and its application to promotions as well as to original appointments, and, though the aldermen have attempted to cripple the Civil Service Commission by cutting down the salaries of the commissioners, their work has been most admirable.

The mayor has made his appointments in the interest of the tax payers, a life-long Republican and a Good Government Democrat having been assigned to the best positions that were subject to his power. He has carried out the public promises he made prior to election, and has striven to purify and improve the public service of the city. Public opinion, too, has been aroused and made watchful, which is the best possible check on official wrong-doing. Everyone admits that the air is clearer, and that official processes are cleaner because of the efforts of this Club, and I am but voicing a widely prevalent public opinion when I say that the good government movement of 1895 has paid a thousand fold.

Our government is not yet ideal. The civil service law is being evaded wherever possible. The Board of Aldermen has deposed from office the ablest chairman of the finance committee that the city has had in many a year, and is more intent on playing politics than on attending to business. The Board of Education is not a board of education, but merely a political kindergarten, doing the will of its master, the American Book Company, and wrangling over petty appointments, until it has fallen below the region of criticism into that of contempt. The changes secured have been very great, however, and have all been in the right direction. They have not been made because the politicians have "changed their spots," but because public opinion has been so thoroughly aroused that they have not dared to resist, and have been forced to do right in spite of themselves.

The constitution of the State of New York provided for a uniform charter for cities of the second class, of which there are four in the State—Albany, Troy, Syracuse and Rochester. A committee consisting of one member from each of these cities was appointed by Governor Morton to draw such a charter. Their report was presented to the Legislature in the form of a charter, which was drawn along the lines most generally desired by students of political problems, viz.: the separation of the

legislative and executive departments of the city government, and the centering of the executive power and responsibility in the mayor by giving him the appointment of the heads of the various departments.

The bill providing for this charter was smothered in the Legislature, and when our city fell, partly, at least, into the hands of that much-despised class, "the reformers," it was publicly announced that the last hope of charter reform had been swept away, for the politicians would never allow such a charter to go into operation in any of the cities, unless *they* had the absolute power of appointment and control. The same charter for all these cities was introduced into the Legislature again this winter, with some slight changes, and, after passing the Senate, was "hung up" in the Assembly. Meanwhile the machine had recognized that public sentiment in Rochester had grown fast in demanding the best possible form of government, and must be reckoned with. It was found possible to convince them that it was necessary to yield to it by providing for the desired charter. The original charter recommended by the State Commission was taken as a basis, some improvements were made in it, and it was carried through the Assembly, and almost through the Senate, when it was finally strangled at the last moment by a trick of one of our Representatives, for motives that we can guess but cannot prove.

Public opinion had, however, been worked up so much that it was not thought politically safe to allow the whole matter to drop, and so about an hour before the Legislature adjourned, the stranded charter, applicable to the four cities of the State, was pulled out of its tomb and passed. It is not quite as good as the one we desired and came so near getting, but it is apparently a great improvement over the present charters in all the cities, and it now looks as though the pressure of public opinion in Rochester, aroused by Good Government efforts, had given to the cities of our State a charter that they would never have gotten in any other way.

Now, what of the future? Shall we stop where we are when so much remains to be done? We believe that there are many in the city who opposed us in 1895 who are with us to-day. Some opposed us because they did not believe our criticisms were just. They have been convinced.

Others declined to join us because they thought our efforts would be useless. They have seen their mistake. Some were affected by the claim that the election of 1895 was the first gun in the presidential campaign of 1896, and that it would not be safe to interfere with their party supremacy in the city. The presidential election is now past, and can have no effect on such minds, although the falsity of the argument as to any relation between the two is shown by a comparison of the elections of 1895 and 1896. Moreover, we believe that there are larger numbers than ever before who are convinced that partisan politics have nothing to do with municipal affairs, and who are ready, not only to sign our Declaration of Principles, but to actively co-operate with us in putting those principles into definite administrative form.

The principal reformers of our city, and of every city in New York State, have every reason to be encouraged. Our new State constitution separated State and national from municipal elections, and provided for civil service reform of a real and thorough kind. Moreover the Court of Appeals of our State has sustained these provisions by decisions of the most sweeping character. A new anti-civil service law was passed by our last Legislature at the behest of the Governor, and now awaits his signature, which will undoubtedly be affixed, but it is not unreasonably hoped that the courts will declare it unconstitutional, while public indignation will probably sweep from power the party that is responsible for it.

This meager, and possibly uninteresting, account of our efforts and accomplishments is brought to you with the definite purpose of encouraging those who are fighting elsewhere, and who have still to see much result. The effort in Rochester was

made by a few only, and we seemed like a very feeble folk in the presence of the well-organized and all-powerful machine we faced, but the public in Rochester was evidently waiting for just such an attempt, and when they saw the same made in an honest, straightforward way, with reasonably good common sense as to political methods and ways of procedure, they backed us up with their votes.

The whole campaign, from the first meeting of the little group to the closing up of our headquarters after election, cost \$2,600, and it has saved the taxpayers many times that sum. Our Club is still in existence, and has just declared its purpose to take a hand in this year's campaign, at which time we hope to push the line still further into the enemy's country. No one should begin the fight for the improvement of municipal affairs with the notion that much of anything can be done in one campaign, or that after one or two victories no further effort will be needed. The only way to win is to keep "everlastingly at it"; the only man the machine fears is the one who will never give up, and who comes up smiling for another fight whether victorious or defeated in his first battle. The men who want nothing for themselves, and who go into politics solely for the public good, are the men who ought to take up this work, for they cannot be bluffed, or frightened, or bought off, and the public will believe in the sincerity of their professions and efforts and will back them up.

If the tale of what we have accomplished shall help anyone else to "go and do likewise," the purpose of this paper will be realized.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN PHILADELPHIA.

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.,

President, Philadelphia Municipal League.

Philadelphia has not so much to report, perhaps, as some of its sister cities in the way of a change for the better in the personnel of its officials as a whole. Unquestionably her higher executive officers are men of ability, clean-handed and well-intentioned, but it is equally certain that they are bound hand and foot by the machine so far as real and searching reforms in municipal government are concerned. Nevertheless there has been very substantial progress by reason of the much greater interest manifested in municipal affairs during the past two years.

The members of this Conference may already know that at the 1895 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature a resolution was passed in the Senate authorizing the appointment of a committee to examine into the administration of Philadelphia's municipal government. While it was known that the appointment of this committee was the outcome of a factional quarrel in the Republican party, nevertheless it was thought that the opportunity had presented itself of showing to the citizens how, in many respects, the government of the city had been mismanaged, from the standpoint of public welfare, and how it had been conducted in the interest of those composing the "ring." The factional quarrel broke out during the campaign for the mayoralty in February, 1895. The "State Boss," in opposition to the wishes of his local lieutenants, desired to name the candidate; the latter refused to follow his lead and named their own candidate. The outcome of this was a bitter factional contest which eventually spread throughout the entire State.

The Senatorial Investigating Committee was constituted in

response to the petition of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, which set forth that certain grave charges had been made by the senior Senator on the floor of the United States Senate, alleging wrong-doing on the part of those who were responsible for Philadelphia's municipal government; and on the petition of the Citizens' Municipal Association, setting forth and detailing charges concerning the awarding of city contracts and mismanagement in the administration of the various executive and legislative departments.

The investigation did not accomplish all that was desired, but it brought out in a formal and legal way evidence concerning the misconduct of the city's affairs. Almost the entire testimony relative to the awarding of contracts, the conduct of executive departments, the management of the gas works and water works, the workings of the electric lighting monopoly and the collection of political assessments from city employes was obtained through the efforts of the Citizens' Municipal Association.

A large part of the money required by the Committee was also obtained by this Association from private contributions. This course of acquiring funds was rendered necessary by the refusal of the House to vote the needed appropriation to carry on the investigation.

The Executive Committee of the Municipal Association in its annual report says of this investigation, that in its judgment the work done in aid of the Senate Committee was the most important ever undertaken by that body, and the testimony adduced more than justified all the time and means expended upon it, since, whether the State Legislature or the City Councils make any use or not of the knowledge obtained concerning the government of Philadelphia, the value to the citizens of the facts presented is exceedingly great.

The Municipal League, realizing that efforts would be made to pass legislation amendatory of the Bullitt Bill, early in 1895 appointed a Committee on Charter Amendments, the duty

of which was to carefully examine the workings of the Bullitt Bill during the decade of its operation and to suggest such measures as would tend to carry out more fully the original intention of that measure.

In the fall of the same year this Committee reported a series of amendments, the principles of which have already been referred to in the Secretary's report, and the League has since devoted its best energies to securing the passage of these bills by the Legislature.

While vigorously pressing forward this work of legislation, the League has not been unmindful of its duties in other directions, and has prosecuted with energy its educational efforts and its efforts to secure the nomination of competent men to office. It has been more successful in the former line of work than in the latter, but it has had the satisfaction of electing two or three good men to office who were active members of the organization and thoroughly imbued with its principles.

The League has steadily grown, and now has enrolled upwards of fifty-five hundred members, and ward organizations numbering twenty-five. In this way much useful work has been done and a considerable measure of success attained. The ward organizations have undertaken special lines of work, and in some instances have employed secretaries confining the greater part, if not all, of their time and attention to the business of the League.

The factional fight to which I have already referred had another result, in that the State Republican Convention of August, 1895, formally indorsed the principle of municipal and civil service reform and condemned the growing use of money in politics and the use of positions in return for partisanship.

For two years the Republican platform has declared in favor of reform, and at the pending session of the Legislature a series of bills providing for these reforms, including those proposed by the Municipal League, have been presented and are now hanging in the balance. Whether or not the members of the Legis-

lature who are formally pledged to these reforms will fulfill their promises we cannot say. There are strong indications that the factions will come together, in which case the bills may be allowed to go by default; but the leaders are impressed with the fact that should they be unfaithful the party will suffer much more than will the cause of reform.

The revolt against the further progress of the merit system, that is so much in evidence in the national legislature, is not unnaturally reflected in the Pennsylvania State and municipal legislatures. As might reasonably be expected, the spoilsmen are taking alarm and the political organizations in Philadelphia are passing resolutions condemning the civil service reform movement as "un-American," "unconstitutional," etc., etc. The demand for the repeal of the civil service law comes from those who are now holding positions by reason of their political "pull" and by those who are seeking to benefit by similar favoritism. The great mass of people, so far as I can observe, are in favor of reform in the civil service, and the press of the city as a unit is upholding the merit system of appointments.

Time will not permit of an extended reference to the minor operations to which we have already referred, nor to the manifold activities of the Civic Club or the Women's Health Protective Association, both of which bodies are working with energy and some considerable success in the direction of a higher standard of municipal life. The increasing activity of women in municipal affairs is assuming large proportions, and we in Philadelphia are particularly favored in having the co-operation of two such energetic bodies as those just mentioned.

I think it within the mark to say that never before in the history of our municipality has there been a more intelligent or a more extended interest in municipal affairs on the part of so large a number of people. This is, perhaps, the most encouraging feature of our situation, for, when the people become interested in municipal government, it means that the day of redemption is at hand.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLESTON.

HON. JOHN F. FICKEN,

Ex-Mayor of Charleston.

This paper has been prepared in response to an earnest request for an article on the subject of municipal government in Charleston, the metropolis of South Carolina. Much that is both interesting and instructive to the student of history has transpired within the walls of this old city. Her history is replete with items of thrilling interest, courageous endurance and heroic achievement. Founded over two centuries ago, her name is inscribed on the pages of the earliest chronicles of our common country. She has again and again been the scene of stirring episodes and important events, which have left a marked impress on the policies of both State and nation. At the outer edge of her beautiful and capacious harbor, linking her with a glorious past, stands Fort Moultrie, recalling the ever memorable and decisive victory over the British fleet which preceded the declaration of American independence. Guarding the entrance to her harbor lies Fort Sumter, sullen, defiant and isolated, a silent, though impressive, memorial of the disasters and heroic sacrifices entailed by the Civil War.

It would seem that such a city cannot fail to furnish much that is adapted for profitable study to all who are engaged in the serious consideration of the important subject of municipal government. And yet it cannot be asserted that such is the case in any unusual degree. Charleston has, on the whole, been blessed with a good government, free from jobbery and other species of corruption such as have been the curse of less fortunate places. Her experience, however, has been simply

that of the average city of her size, and the existing provisions of her government are but the gradual outcome of some two hundred years of civic life.

The problems of municipal government are of vast importance to the people at large, and are everywhere demanding the most serious attention. Vital questions relating to the details of administration, and of social and economic life, are constantly arising, and must be settled. As one of the results of this era of new and expanding industries, the mass of mankind seem destined to urban life. A noteworthy change has been gradually developed in the location and growth of population in many parts of this country, which gives increased interest to the study of the subject under consideration. There was a period in our history when, as a general if not universal rule, the ratio of increase in the population of the rural districts exceeded that of the municipalities. This, however, is no longer the case in many portions of our great and growing country. On the contrary statistics establish the fact that even in some of the older States the manifest tendency is towards a rapid increase of urban population at the expense of the rural population. This is due, in some degree, it is believed, to the introduction of the use of labor saving instruments in farming, which have left unemployed a large number, who flock to the neighboring towns and cities to seek the means of a livelihood. The disproportionate ratio of increase of population in the municipalities is due, perhaps, in a greater degree to the multiplication of industrial enterprises, which are established almost altogether in or near thickly settled communities, and which, by the irresistible influence of higher wages and more regular employment, attract labor even from the tilled fields. In South Carolina this is notably the case. Enterprising towns have rapidly expanded and developed into cities under the stimulus of prospering industries. Cotton mills, fertilizer factories and other like enterprises have been constructed and successfully operated, and through their powerful influence population has been enticed from the neighboring farms, and in

some instances from beyond the limits of the State. In this way cities are built up at the expense of the rural districts, and the disproportionate increase of population in the one as compared with the other is readily understood.

For these and similar reasons the study of the problems under consideration has become one of deep and abiding interest, and thinking men in all parts of the civilized world recognize their importance. The aims and efforts, therefore, of the useful organization under whose auspices the present assembly is held should receive the heartiest encouragement and commendation.

In the consideration of this subject many difficult problems present themselves for solution, and progress must necessarily be slow. The experience of old and long-settled communities, however, will always prove of great assistance, even though such experience be often strongly characterized by mistake and failure. Whilst certain general principles must be recognized as applicable to all cases, the special environments of each separate municipality tend to induce the adoption of methods peculiar to itself, and often produce results differentiated in a greater or less degree from the average experience.

Under the authority of the State Legislature the government of the city of Charleston is vested in a body known as "The City Council of Charleston," which is composed of a mayor and twenty-four aldermen, all of whom are elected at one and the same time to hold office for a term of four years. The mayor is the presiding officer of the Council, as well as the chief executive officer of the city, and is entitled to a vote in the Council, but is not clothed with a veto power.

The city is divided into twelve wards, and each ward is represented in the Council by two representatives known as aldermen, one of whom is elected by the qualified voters residing in the ward, and the other of whom is elected by the qualified voters of the city at large. This system of ward representation, allied as it is to a general representation, is a most

excellent provision of law, worthy of the highest commendation. It enables the voters of any particular ward who may be opposed to the policy of the majority of the voters at large, and who otherwise could exert no influence, to obtain representation in the Council. It is calculated also to have a salutary effect in times of great emergency, when wisdom is often found in the policy of a conservative minority.

The City Council has been entrusted by the State Legislature with the duty and power of legislation to a limited extent, which has been defined in its charter or act of incorporation. In the exercise of this authority it has created special boards or commissions, who serve without pecuniary compensation, and who are charged with the duty of maintaining the several systems of the fire department, sewerage, the public health, the parks and the penal and charitable institutions of the city. The City Council also maintains a high school for boys, and in part supports a college in which its male youth have for generations received a liberal education equal to that furnished by any other college in the South. The common schools, which are of a high order, are supported chiefly by a special county tax.

The city of Charleston has prospered under this scheme of government, and there would seem to be no actual demand at present for any modification of the same. The writer, however, is of the opinion that certain changes could be made which would better safeguard the rights of the people and prevent the occurrence of the evil results which sometimes follow hasty legislation.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF OHIO CITIES.

ALFRED C. CASSAT, ESQ., CINCINNATI.

Under the constitution and laws of Ohio municipal corporations are divided into ten classes, upon the basis of their population, and the Legislature may establish for each one of these classes a form of government radically different from that possessed by the others. Generally speaking, however, all of the municipal corporations of the State—with the exception of a half dozen of the larger cities—are practically alike in their form of government. The legislative power of the corporation is vested in a council elected by the people, and the executive officers are the mayor, city clerk, treasurer, city solicitor, etc. The half dozen larger cities referred to have distinctive features of greater or less importance, and the two largest cities of the State—Cincinnati and Cleveland—differ radically in their methods of administration.

In Cleveland there is a city council, elected by the people, to exercise the legislative powers of the corporation; the mayor, treasurer, police judge, prosecuting attorney of the police court, and clerk of the police court are elected by the people. There are six executive departments—the Department of Public Works, the Department of Police, the Department of Fire, the Department of Accounts, Department of Law, and the Department of Charities and Correction. Each of these departments has a head called the director of the department, appointed by the mayor, and responsible to him.

I am advised that the city government of Cleveland, considered as a mechanism, is satisfactory in its operation; that it has

proven an efficient method of administering the affairs of the city. A great majority of the people of that city are satisfied with the plan, and the Municipal Association, which is active in its efforts for municipal reform, is not advocating any change in the charter of the city.

The city of Cincinnati has a mayor, city auditor, city treasurer, corporation counsel, police judge, etc., elected by the people. The legislative body of the corporation is called the Board of Legislation, and corresponds to the City Council of the other cities of the State. The purely administrative part of the city's government is in the hands of bi-partisan appointive boards, by far the most important of which is the Board of Administration. This Board consists of four members appointed one each year by the mayor, and no more than two of whom can be of one political party. It has full control of water works, water rates, street improvements, sewers, parks, city infirmary, etc., and by special act of the Legislature was given the power to grant for a period of fifty years a practical monopoly of the street railway franchises of Cincinnati without a vote of the people or even the concurrence of the Board of Legislation.

The conduct of the city's affairs by a bi-partisan board of this kind has not given entire satisfaction. Many of the powers conferred upon the Board are legislative in character, and should be exercised by the Board of Legislation. Under this system, also, it has been difficult to fix the responsibility for governmental action, or to effect a change in the policy of the city government when so desired.

I shall not go into further detail with reference to the methods of city government employed in Ohio. This for two reasons : First, the subject has been covered by papers read before this body in former years. In the second place, the good and bad features of municipal government in Ohio exist irrespective, largely, of the different mechanisms to which I have referred.

Generally speaking, the Police and Fire Departments of the large cities of the State are conducted on the merit system, and

are free from political control and give complete satisfaction. The streets are well paved and lighted, and the ministerial duties of the city governments are well performed.

On the other hand, local elections are affected too much by partisanship along national party lines, with the consequent ascendancy of the political machine in local affairs. As a result of this there is not a definite expression of the public will on local questions, or of the public judgment in the selection of local officers. In the transaction of municipal business, such as the making and enforcement of contracts, the disposition of franchises, and the adoption of economical methods, the cities suffer accordingly. These good and bad features are to be found in all of the large cities of the State, irrespective of their forms of government, and I am not able to ascertain that either the good or the bad features exist in a greater degree in one city than in another by reason of any differences in municipal machinery.

Municipal reform in Ohio in the immediate future is not a question of machinery or of plans of city government. The failures of the past cannot be blamed on city charters, nor are the victories of the immediate future to be won by the employment of the most improved governmental devices.

True, there is one elementary particular in which our laws should be changed. The municipal spoils system still prevails to a great extent. If it were abolished the power of the political machines would be lessened, and official duties would be better performed. The truth of this proposition will be so readily conceded in a gathering of this kind that I need not enforce it with arguments or illustrations. But as I have said, the chief difficulty with city government in Ohio in the past has not been in the provisions of city charters, or in the form of city governments, and the hope for a purified and efficient municipal life in the future is not to be found altogether in the adoption of new machinery. *What we need is the creation and development of municipal citizens, men who are not mere residents of their city, but who are citizens in the true sense of that term; men who have*

a devotion to their city as well as to their country ; men who will study the true interests of their city with the care, sacrifice their time and convenience for her with the willingness, and repel assaults internal and external upon her honor with the intensity of purpose which has always characterized patriotic citizenship. The average man takes a keen interest in national questions, and has a certain sense of national honor. He desires his nation to stand well among the nations of the earth, and to compare favorably with them in its civil and military equipment. The result is that at a national election his ballot is cast for the policy or candidate that seems to him to give the greatest promise of promoting his view of the national welfare. He has a definite desire as to the national policy on the tariff or the currency question and votes for the candidate or party that advocates that policy. Right or wrong, he believes in a certain policy, votes for it, and insists that if his party prevails that policy shall be carried into effect. But when it comes to city affairs, the average man does not make any pretense to a well-defined notion as to the way in which the business of the city shall be transacted, or its official duties performed. He votes for the municipal candidate not because of that candidate's views upon municipal questions, but from some other reason, from personal friendship, or because the candidate is a member of the same national party that he is. He leaves it to the candidates thus elected to study and decide for themselves the questions with which, as the representatives of the municipal corporation, they will be confronted. In a word, while he attempts to influence definitely, according to his view, the governmental action of his nation, he does not attempt to so influence the governmental action of his city. He may be a good national citizen, but he is not a municipal citizen ; he is a mere resident of his city and nothing more.

This may be due in part to the fact that while many people remain under the stars and stripes for a lifetime, they frequently move from one city to another, and do not have time to acquire a real interest in any one city. But it is largely due to the fail-

ure of the people to appreciate the importance of municipal questions and the binding obligation they owe to the city in which they live. To the free-born citizen of the ancient cities in Greece or Italy his city was his church, his country, his home and his society. To the average free-born citizen of America, his city is the place where his office or store is located, temporarily or otherwise, and he desires to have the city government conducted with the least possible trouble on his part during the entire period of his residence in it.

Is it any wonder, when there is such a general indifference to municipal questions, that partisanship and politics should enter so largely into city elections? We say, banish politics from municipal affairs; but the way to banish politics is by the expulsive power of a new affection. When the voter realizes his responsibility as a citizen to his city as well as to his country, and understands the vital importance to himself and his family of municipal questions, there will be no difficulty in eliminating all considerations of national politics from city elections; there will be no room for such considerations.

In Ohio the succession of city charters and experiments with administrative boards suggests that the unconscious purpose of the lawmakers has been to construct a form of city government that would run itself without any vigilance, study or effort on the part of the citizens. Such an effort utterly ignores the true principle of efficient popular government. The merit system applied to public offices and the most approved form of city government will do much, but as one of our public men has so well said, "God Almighty never made any man or set of men wise enough to establish a form of government that you could go off and leave." The duties of municipal citizenship cannot be performed by proxy. The function of municipal officers is only to carry into effect the deliberate judgment of the people, not to dispense with the exercise of that judgment.

It is my opinion that, while the municipal tone of the cities of Ohio has improved to a marked degree in the last few years,

and while our cities are better governed than they ever were before, their growth in efficiency has been retarded by the very general failure of the citizen to recognize that he owes a duty to his city quite equal to that which he owes to his country, and that his individual judgment should be expressed and his individual influence exercised in municipal problems quite as vigorously as on the tariff or currency questions. We have relied on the courts to relieve us against special legislation, the wrongful bartering of public franchises and iniquitous municipal contracts. Sometimes they have been able to furnish relief, and sometimes not ; but this burden would not be laid upon the courts if the people would elect to office men pledged not to do these things.

Unless the citizen takes an active and intelligent interest in municipal questions and has a definite idea of what should be the municipal policy upon general subjects, waves of reform are not likely to be of much avail. The people become discontented with the existing city administration because they believe that, generally speaking, it is corrupt, or inefficient, or both, and they elect to power another and different administration. They do not have a definite conviction as to the exact demerits of the administration in power, nor do they make a definite requirement of what shall be the policy of the new administration. With the great mass of the voters there is merely a blind protest against a method of city administration which they believe to be wrong somewhere, and the equally blind acceptance of an administration which offers the prospect of a change. Such a reversal, based upon such an indefinite foundation, has not in itself the elements of permanency. It is subject to too frequent oscillations. A reform movement which is to be permanent and progressive should not be based upon mere suspicion or be merely destructive. It should have for a foundation an intelligent conviction upon the part of the people as to the evils of the administration which they seek to expel, and the definite policy which is to be required of the new administration.

I am speaking only of Ohio, and giving only my own opinion, but I do not hesitate to say that the progress of the immediate future in the government of Ohio cities is to be obtained, not in the first instance by an alteration in the forms of municipal government, except in the elementary particular I have named, but by the development of a body of citizens as active, intelligent and exacting in municipal affairs as is the average good citizen in national affairs—a body of citizens who will recognize that at this time municipal questions are among the most important questions before the American people. The development of such citizens has already begun in Ohio. With its progress we expect to see a continued improvement in our city governments, irrespective of any change in their charters.

If such a body of citizens does not exist, we have no reason to believe that the most perfect machinery will be anything more than a lifeless imitation of what the true self-governed and efficient American city can be and ought to be.

MUNICIPAL REFORM IN NEW ORLEANS.

CHARLES JANVIER,

President, Citizens' League of New Orleans.

In Racine's comedy of "The Pleadings," when one of the advocates had opened, with a reference to Creation, what promised to prove a long-winded and tedious argument, the learned judge—no doubt feeling that no event which had occurred at so remote a period could have any bearing upon the case under consideration—interrupted with the request that he would "skip to the Deluge."

It is not my purpose to act upon the presumption that your indulgence equals that of the French comedy judge and make the Deluge my starting point; but a proper presentation of the subject upon which I have been invited to address you demands, in my opinion, that I should go back to and start from that period of gloom, of anxiety and of severest trial, when a common peril and a common cause made all men of honest purpose and of patriotic impulse politicians in the highest and noblest sense of the term.

During those dark days of reconstruction all that was best of courage, of intelligence and of patriotism was banded together in the struggle to preserve from annihilation the few remnants of our property and civilization which a devastating war had left. All differences of political opinion were sunk in the one dominant purpose, inspired, animated and sustained by that indomitable spirit of self-preservation which rises superior to all law, to all conditions and to all political considerations. In this momentous and stupendous effort, which called for the exercise of the highest qualities of heart and of mind, many of

the ward bosses of the future took part in a quiet, humble and unostentatious way. They had sufficient instinctive prescience to realize that the cause in which they had enlisted was not only certain of ultimate victory but that the victory once won would not be unstable and transitory, but permanent and enduring. They were cunning enough to feel that undue haste in pushing themselves forward might result in defeat and discomfiture, and so they were content to labor in positions which, while obscure, were sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of the leaders to their affected devotion which wore all the appearances of hearty and genuine unselfishness.

All the while, however, under cover of this assumed humility and patriotic disinterestedness, they were laying their plans to work out the leaders and worm themselves into their places when the occasion would be ripe. They played their game with consummate ability, and their patience and perseverance were finally richly rewarded.

When the great fight had been won and the political adventurers who had climbed into power by first inflaming and then exploiting the passions of the unhappy freedman had been driven from the field and a government which represented the best elements in the State had been regularly installed, the great mass of those who had subordinated every consideration to the struggle for political liberty returned to their several vocations, leaving in the hands of their chosen leaders not only the machinery of the party but the electoral machinery of the State as well.

Then it was that the ward bosses began to throw off their disguise and display pernicious activity. One by one the different parts of the party machinery were seized with firm and unyielding grasp, and in the course of a very few years the good people in the community discovered that the very means which they had devised and employed to fight a common enemy and which the supreme exigencies of a righteous cause warranted and justified were being used with telling effect against

themselves. For the ward bosses of the city absolutely controlled and manipulated not only the nomination but the election of candidates for municipal office, and exercised in addition a most potent influence on State politics. To protest was unavailing, and upon any threat or attempt at revolt the spell of "party regularity" and the bugaboo of "negro domination" were invoked to fright the souls of the timorous, the weak-kneed and those human paradoxes who know the right and yet will pursue the wrong if an empty party name be the guide. And among those who shouted most lustily for the rigid maintenance of "party regularity" as the the only means to preserve the people from the horrors of negro domination were individuals who had been closely identified in an office-holding way with the old Radical party and had become the most blatant of Democrats, no doubt for the most excellent reason that to be anything else at that time meant political starvation.

In 1878, 1880, 1882 and 1884 independent municipal tickets were put up in opposition to the ward bosses, but the latter, having exclusive control of the count of the vote and possessing the power (exercised without scruple and without fear) of excluding their opponents from any participation therein, were uniformly triumphant, except in 1880, when the candidate for mayor upon the reform tickets was elected by a few hundred majority. This accident was believed to be almost entirely due to the fact that the candidate upon the ring ticket had incurred the bitter hostility of the laboring class, and the feeling ran so high that the bosses thought it prudent to allay the antagonism of this powerful element by permitting their candidate to be sacrificed. But in 1888 the reform element achieved a signal victory. Under the banner of the Young Men's Democratic Association the effort was organized, and, profiting by the experience of the past, vigorous and heroic measures were taken to insure an honest count of the vote.

The Association not only had a representative in each polling booth, but outside of each booth was posted a squad of

armed men to preserve peace, protect the voters from intimidation, and to back up and defend, if need be, the representative inside.

The ring essayed every old trick known to the ward politician and a few new ones, born of the pressing necessities of the situation, to prevent an honest count, but their desperate efforts proved of no avail. The vote was, for the first time in many years, honestly counted; the ring was defeated, horse, foot and dragoons, and the candidates upon the reform ticket were declared elected and duly installed.

And then the Young Men's Democratic Association, having faithfully and fearlessly performed its duty to the public, committed to the hands of the newly-elected officials the business of taking up and carrying forward the reforms to which the movement had been pledged, and dissolved into thin air.

In this a fatal mistake was made, for, unfortunately, when left to themselves, many of the reform councilmen fell into the evil ways of those whom they had displaced, and despite the exertions of a small number of stout-hearted and true men whose fidelity never wavered, several acts were performed which have left indelible spots upon an administration from which so much had been expected in the way of honest and genuine reform.

But these faithful men succeeded, nevertheless, in accomplishing several reforms of a substantial and beneficial character.

When the administration went into office it found a city well nigh bankrupt. For several years payment for services rendered and material supplied had been deferred until the floating debt of the municipality had reached a sum exceeding half a million of dollars.

The budget prepared by the preceding administration had been so irregularly constructed that had it been carried out as written not one cent of this debt would have been paid, but, on the contrary, the outstanding floating indebtedness of the city would have been swelled to at least seven hundred and fifty

thousand dollars, a sum representing nearly three-fourths of the city's entire alimony for one year.

The financial problem which confronted the new administration was one whose early solution seemed at first to be beyond the limit of human ability ; but under the intelligent, firm and courageous guidance of the distinguished gentleman who was the chairman of the Budget Committee of the Council, and who under our present administration occupies the position of President of the Common Council, within three months the city was put upon a cash basis and its credit so far restored that the banks voluntarily offered to lend at three or four per cent. interest any money which might be required to bridge over any temporary difficulty or meet any pressing emergency.

In consequence of this one act of heroic finance, which exerted influences more far-reaching than those who aided in its performance could appreciate at the time, the city was able, when the opportunity to do so presented itself, to retire its bonded indebtedness bearing high rates of interest and replace it with the present four per cent. constitutional bonds, which command at the present time a premium in the market.

In addition to this our financial achievement which, in itself constitutes a lasting monument to the zeal, intelligence and fidelity of those whose names are honorably linked with the Shakespeare administration, we must add the abolition of the volunteer fire department and the substitution in its stead of our present paid fire department. Not only did this change secure better service and better protection, and place New Orleans in line with the progressive cities of the Union, but it forever destroyed a most powerful political engine which was absolutely dominated by the ward bosses, and whose influence, in consequence, was being always exercised to the detriment of the public weal.

Several other reforms might be noted, but time and space will not permit.

I cannot refrain, at this juncture, from paying to the re-

vered memory of the lamented chief of that administration the tribute due to his worth and high character. He was essentially an honest man, and his honesty was of that robust and rugged kind which knows no half measures. He was a true man, as faithful to every obligation of duty as is the needle to the pole. Being of human mould, he possessed some of the fallibility of human nature, and in consequence made mistakes, but these arose, in most instances, from the very earnestness of his zeal in the public interest. They never proceeded from any infirmity or imperfection of heart. That was in its right place, for a

. . . . truer, nobler, trustier heart
More loving or more loyal never beat
Within a human breast.

In 1892 the vexed question of the renewal by the State of Louisiana of the charter of the Louisiana State Lottery divided the good people of the State, and the fatal mistake was made of permitting that question to be injected into municipal politics. As a consequence the ward bosses, whom the victory of the Young Men's Democratic Association had driven into retirement, came to the front, reinforced by recruits who had betrayed the cause of reform and espoused the pro-lottery cause. By this stroke they received much substantial pecuniary assistance and were able not only to marshal those elements in a large community which may be controlled by the judicious expenditure of money, but to enlist the support of most excellent citizens who favored the pro-lottery side and who, in order to register their will upon this question, were compelled by the curious exigencies of the situation to vote for the very men whom four years before they had labored to destroy.

This is not the time nor place to comment upon that strange inconsistency in human nature, so often exploited by designing and unscrupulous politicians, which will lead an honest man to vote for a candidate whom he knows to be dishonest, simply because he wears the livery of party or pretends to stand for and represent some question which the aforesaid

honest citizen favors. No cause, however pure, can be advanced if the agents who must give it life are dishonest, and yet, in spite of the repeated teachings of the past, at every election we find deluded honesty pursuing the same inexplicable course.

The unfortunate complication in our municipal politics resulted in inflicting upon the people of New Orleans an out and out ring administration which, during its course of four years' tenure of office, achieved much unenviable notoriety and made such a record that it will go down in history with the designation of "Boodle" prefixed to its name.

During his administration the Mayor was impeached for malfeasance and tried before the Civil District Court, and though the judge decided the case in his favor the evidence adduced at the trial carried the conviction to the minds of those unlearned in the nice refinements, technicalities, and sophistries of the law, that if technically innocent the defendant was woefully wanting in appreciation of the dignity and proprieties of his exalted office.

Out of thirty councilmen, ten were indicted by the Grand Jury for bribe-taking. Of these five were convicted, one secured from the Supreme Court a new trial on a purely technical legal point, four were sent to the penitentiary, and the others are awaiting trial.

Official venality and incapacity had fretted public endurance almost to the verge of revolution. It was felt that unless some tangible promise of substantial relief was speedily given to the people, outraged public patience would burst its bonds and by violent and revolutionary proceedings drive from office the shameless betrayers of the public trust.

It was for the purpose of offering to the people an opportunity to accomplish by pacific methods the much-needed reformation in their municipal affairs that the Citizens' League was called into existence. On the night of April 9th, 1895, a handful of public-spirited citizens held a meeting and organized the movement for municipal reform which was destined to win so

notable a triumph over the concerted influences of the State and city rings.

Up to this time all municipal reform movements had been attempted within the fold of the dominant party, and with but one exception all had gone down in defeat.

The Citizens' League was framed upon much different lines. The cardinal principle, which formed the underpinning upon which the whole fabric was constructed, was the bold proposition, which at first sounded strange to ears so long attuned to the music of orthodox party doctrine, that party issues have no place in municipal politics; that the mayor of the city bore to the corporation the same relation that the president of a bank bore to his bank that the councilmen were the directors and the people the stockholders; and that as stockholders in this municipal corporation the people in the selection of their officials should be guided by the same considerations which guided the holder of bank stock when he voted for the men to whose hands he committed the care of his property; that efficiency and honesty should be the first requisites in an official of the municipality, and the question of his political predilections should not be taken into account. It was a bold venture in a community so long ring-ridden and boss-ruled and where party lines had always been so rigidly and acutely drawn.

Opposed to us were the powerful influences of the State and city administrations—the latter audacious, open and aggressive—the former covert and insidious, but no less effective. And our doctrine of independence of party had arrayed against us the hostility of those persons to whom I have already referred who have for the fetich of party the same idolatrous veneration and blind attachment which the heathen shows for the hideous presentment of his god.

But, nothing daunted, we went over the city preaching our new doctrine and organizing clubs. Attempts were made at first by the unruly followers of our enemies to break up our meetings, but these proved futile, and each meeting gathered a

larger attendance than its predecessor. We made converts at first by the hundreds and then by thousands, until enthusiasm reached such a pitch that we were able to arrange a torch-light parade which eclipsed all former efforts in that line and included in its ranks one-fifth of all the registered voters of the city.

And we had preached our doctrine to such good effect that in this procession not a single lantern, transparency or banner, bore a single emblem, insignia, or even word which identified any man in the ranks with any political party. There were no Democrats, or Republicans, or Populists, because of their being such, in that procession. They were all Citizens' Leaguers having but one purpose in view—an honest administration of government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

And on Tuesday, April 21st, 1896, we won the fight by majorities ranging from 9,300 to 13,000 in a total vote of 48,000, out of a registered vote of 60,000.

On the following Monday the new administration was installed and once more the ward bosses were turned out of power.

Among the principal reforms which the Citizens' League had promised, in the event of success, were :

- 1st—A new charter for the city.
- 2d—A revision of the registration laws.
- 3d—An honest election law.

We had appointed committees charged with the duty of preparing the necessary bills by which the above reforms could be inaugurated, and when the Legislature met on the first Monday in May, the Senators and Representatives elected upon the League ticket immediately set to work to have these bills enacted into laws. We met with considerable opposition, but the unflagging zeal and earnest fidelity of the League's representatives triumphed over all obstacles, and the bills were passed by the General Assembly and approved by the Governor with only a few modifications and amendments.

The new charter adopted was framed upon the lines of the

most advanced thought on the question of municipal government, and I believe it was submitted to and received the indorsement of some of the prominent members of the National Municipal League. The charter which it superseded was granted in 1882, in the belief that through its instrumentality the people of New Orleans could more effectively share in the benefits hoped for from the constitution of 1879. But fourteen years of dearly-bought experience had abundantly demonstrated that under it full scope and play were given to the talents and arts of the professional politician.

The entire patronage of the city was at the disposal of the successful candidates for administrative offices, and as these candidates were controlled by the ward bosses, positions in the public service were given as rewards for political merit and without regard either to the fitness and efficiency of the employe or the interests of the people. As I have already stated, all political power in the city, for more than a decade, was centered in four individuals and the aggregation was familiarly known as the Big Four.

Among the consequences of having an organic law which so readily lent itself to the schemes of selfish and unscrupulous politicians were extravagant waste of revenue, sales of franchises at prices which made them only a little more onerous than gifts, the awarding of contracts to favorites and cliques without genuine competition, and, crowning all, bribe-taking by councilmen and embezzlement by employes. With the charter of 1896 we hope to be able to meet and prevent, in several ways, the recurrence of these evils.

The compensation of the chief executive officers has been increased to figures which are, in a measure, commensurate with their duties and responsibilities. We thus hope to obtain the services of a class of citizens who heretofore could not afford to make the sacrifice of taking public office and discharging its duties faithfully and honestly for the inadequate remuneration attached thereto.

But under a provision of our State constitution, which limits the compensation of municipal officers to \$3,500 per annum, this section of our charter must remain inoperative until the constitution has been amended.

In order to center responsibility as much as possible in the head of the government, the mayor is authorized to appoint and remove certain officials who, under the charter of 1882, were elected either by the people or the Common Council. In the matter of granting franchises the new charter contains a most important and with us entirely novel feature.

Every ordinance of the Common Council for this purpose must be published for a period of two weeks before it goes to the mayor for consideration. It must then be submitted to the Comptroller, Treasurer, Commissioner of Public Works, Commissioner of Police and Public Building, and the City Engineer, assembled in public meeting wherein a hearing shall be granted to all interested parties, and is subject to approval, amendment or rejection by these officials or by any four of them. Amendments thus proposed must receive the vote of a majority of the Council before becoming part of the ordinance, and even thereafter the ordinance may be vetoed by the mayor. The chances of a pernicious franchise being granted by the city government have thus been, in our opinion, reduced to the minimum.

The provision of the charter regulating the sale of street and belt railroad franchises we believe to be a marked improvement upon the old order. These franchises can only be sold to the person or persons bidding at a public competition the highest percentage of gross annual receipts to be derived from such franchises for the term thereof.

Under the old charter such franchises were sold for a lump price, and a number of great value were granted for sums grossly inadequate. The modes and agencies through which this was accomplished readily suggest themselves to minds familiar with municipal administration. The scandals became public and disgrace was added to loss.

The new provision upon this point makes almost impossible the repetition of such plundering, and as the city of New Orleans covers an immense territory and has a water-front of over fourteen miles, necessitating belt roads to properly handle its constantly growing commerce, a marked improvement in the city's finances from this quarter may be looked for in the not distant future.

But the section of the charter which we value most and from which we confidently expect the greatest good, is that by which the whole force of the city's employes, including the Police and Fire Departments, are subjected in appointment, tenure, promotion and dismissal, to civil service rules framed and administered by a Board of Civil Service Commissioners appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the City Council. The benefits to flow from filling places in the public service on the basis of merit instead of as a reward for partisan political activity are now so thoroughly and universally recognized and appreciated that any remarks in the way of argument or of commendation would be apt to be trite and certainly superfluous.

We experienced, strange to say, considerable difficulty in putting this section of the charter into immediate operation. Although pledged to civil service reform, a large number of the Council strenuously objected, on the score of expense, to its institution. Under the charter each commissioner is allowed a salary of \$3,000 per annum, and it was to this provision that the most strenuous opposition was made. We appeared to have reached a dead-lock, and our enemies, who had bitterly fought us in the Legislature, were elated to find that a reform council would do for the ward bosses what the ward bosses had been unable to do for themselves. But at length the difficulties were overcome by the appointment of three prominent and public-spirited citizens who agreed to serve without compensation. The Council promptly confirmed the appointments and voted the sum of \$4,500 to the Commission to defray their necessary office expenses. The Commission met and organized without delay,

prepared and adopted rules, have held two very successful examinations, and we feel that this great reform for which we labored so zealously and so earnestly is now well upon its feet.

Our new charter was granted by the Legislature after the present municipal government had been installed, and a schedule was added retaining until the next quadrennial election some of the features of the old charter. Hence the government elected by the Citizens' League cannot be said to be in every respect in full operation with all of the appliances designed for it. But in all points wherein the charter has become effective great improvement is already apparent, business methods prevail in the departments, some intolerable contracts coming over from the old conditions have been gotten rid of, and many inherited difficulties have been smoothed away. The State Legislature will again convene in 1898, and profiting from the knowledge flowing from two years of experience, we hope to be able to correct or improve whatever may have been found to be defective or undesirable in our present organic law.

One of the greatest difficulties we had to meet and to overcome were the fraudulent irregularities in the registration lists. It was a notorious fact that the registration rolls of the parish were burdened with thousands of illegal names and that these had been made to participate without serious hindrance in every election by the persons who had possession of the papers. We determined, at the very incipency of the fight, to set on foot a system by which these frauds which had flourished so long would be uncovered and an emphatic quietus put upon their further perpetration.

With the ward bosses death did not destroy citizenship, for, under their auspices, dead men had continued to exercise the right of suffrage and made, after death, to vote for men and measures whom they had combated in life. Nor did the ward bosses regard the right to vote as a personal privilege which could not be transferred, for votes of the absent had upon more than one occasion been surreptitiously cast by proxy.

We organized a bureau and had the city thoroughly canvassed, and with our lists we checked the registration rolls and took the necessary steps to have them purged. But despite all that we could do, we have no doubt that frauds in this line were practiced upon us on the day of election.

Owing to constitutional impediments, we could not secure the enactment of a law which would change the entire system and make the perpetration of fraud so difficult as to be practically impossible, but we did secure, in obedience to our pledge to the public, the passage of a law which compels a new registration every election year.

As I have endeavored to show, those elections which had been controlled by the ward bosses without any active organized opposition had been but hollow mockeries, which, instead of setting forth the will of the people, represented that of conscienceless political tricksters. Our election laws had been framed in such a manner that the perpetration of fraud was made easy if not actually encouraged, and we pledged ourselves, in the event of success, to have the existing election laws repealed and secure the enactment of an Australian ballot reform law. We endeavored to have the law apply to the entire State, but in this we encountered such opposition that we were obliged to abandon that idea and concentrate all our efforts in securing the law for the parish of Orleans. In this we were successful, and the law now upon our statute books is as pure a specimen of the real article as is now in operation anywhere in this country.

This law governed at the last presidential election, and while it differed utterly, in spirit and in practice, from all those formerly in force in our State, and much awkwardness and ignorance were displayed by those entrusted with its execution, yet it gave general satisfaction and will continue to grow in public favor as its merits are better understood and appreciated.

It has very materially lessened in many ways the power of the ward bosses and their heelers to manipulate elections and set at naught and overcome the true expression of the people's will.

But its fullest efficacy must depend upon the manner of its execution. Laws, no matter how perfect, cannot execute themselves. In the hands of unscrupulous men the best laws may be converted into oppressive and iniquitous measures and made, not only to defeat the purpose of their enactment, but to intensify and aggravate the evils they were projected to correct.

Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty but of honest elections as well, and it will be our aim not only to be vigilant, but to improve every opportunity to acquaint the public with the provisions of the law until it will become as familiar in their minds and mouths "as household words," to the end that when an election takes place we may be able to place in every polling booth representatives who will have a proper comprehension of the law and will possess sufficient shrewdness to detect any attempted wrongdoing, and firmness adequate to prevent it.

We appreciate the fact that while we have accomplished much in the way of genuine and lasting reform, we fully realize that much more remains to be done. It is of the first importance that the advantages thus far gained shall be neither wasted nor lost. We should hold steadfast to what we have and with unfaltering tread move onward to further successes. Genuine reform cannot be reached and established by spasmodic endeavor. It is the fruit of steady, unceasing, unrelenting and progressive effort.

In our State the power and influence of the chief executive are such that the cause of municipal reform may be seriously handicapped and embarrassed if he be not in harmony with its purpose. The patronage at his command, which includes offices with emoluments and others, which, while purely honorary, have pay positions within their gift, enables him to provide, in a measure, for those professional politicians whom a successful reform movement had temporarily retired from the glare of public life and brought face to face with the appalling alternative—work or starvation.

With the provender at the disposal of the Governor many of the ward bosses are enabled to take care of the most useful of their hungry following during their enforced exile from the municipal crib, and thus the most vicious and dangerous enemies of reform are kept in training, as it were, for the next political campaign.

I would like to be able to say that the Governor of our State, who first reached his exalted station through a great reform movement, was a friend of municipal reform, but such a statement would be as far from the truth as was the remark which cost Ananias his life.

During the campaign we took the stand that none of the leaders of the movement would be candidates for any municipal offices within the gift of the people. We did this for two reasons : First, we did not want public office, and, second, we desired to show in every way our disinterestedness and sincerity. I think we made a mistake in this. While I concede that it would not have been proper for us to have been candidates for any positions bringing emoluments to the holders and that in doing so we would have seriously impaired and perhaps destroyed our chances of success, I believe now that some of those who had managed the campaign and became thoroughly imbued with the spirit of reform should have gone upon the ticket as candidates for the City Council and the Legislature.

The theory that the elected officials become the living agents to inaugurate and put into operation the promised reforms may do as a theory, but it does not work out satisfactorily in practice. The position of the reformer who is a member of the legislative branch of the government where he has a voice and a vote is quite different from that of the reformer who is obliged to stand on the outside, and whose counsels have only the weight which the loyalty of the official is willing to concede.

As a general proposition there is no person so sensitive as the political accident who owes his elevation solely to a political upheaval. While a candidate he may have been fully conscious

of the fact that his success would not depend upon any strength which he imparted to the ticket, but upon the strength which the movement supporting the ticket might possess. Very soon after his election, however, he is very apt to realize that if the ticket won it must have been because of the fact that he was upon it and his personal popularity pulled it through.

If this idea were carried to a logical conclusion he should respect the good judgment which had recognized his merit and be willing to be largely guided by those who had displayed it, but unfortunately for him and for the cause of reform his conceit is not sufficiently comprehensive to take in anything more than his own personality. It is by pandering to this conceit that the indefatigable enemies of reform often alienate the support of those whom reform had really elected and cause them to vote against their friends and against the true interests of the people because in doing so they exhibit independence of spirit. And the queer antics which these independent reformers have cut before high Heaven have made the angels weep while they provoked the scornful hilarity of the impish denizens of another section of the great Hereafter. It was the manifestation of this unhappy and misplaced independence of spirit which contributed to render nugatory the reform efforts under the Shakespeare administration and exerted a strong influence in making possible the return of the ring to power.

Fortunately for us the number of reform councilmen under the present administration who have permitted their vanity to run away with their judgment is so small as not to cut a figure, and the great majority is composed of honest, earnest men whose labors in the interest of the public welfare will bear splendid fruit even before their term of office expires.

I have only words of praise for our delegates to the General Assembly of the State. They were elected to accomplish certain reforms and they have faithfully redeemed the promises made to the people in their behalf. But for all that I still maintain that the leaders in a reform movement should, if possible, be

members of the legislative branches of the State and municipal governments.

Warned by the lessons of the past, we have not made the mistake of disbanding and leaving the field clear to the influences for evil, which never disband. We have reorganized our League upon broad and liberal lines and have invited the co-operation of all citizens of honest purpose who have no private interests to advance at the expense of the public welfare. We are trying to instill into the minds of our people the fundamental principle that it is the bounden duty of every good citizen to take a lively interest in public affairs ; that it is a duty which he owes to the community of which he forms a part, and his neglect of that duty simply throws upon other shoulders a heavier burden ; that if every good citizen did his full duty as a citizen there would be no necessity for the formation and maintenance of reform organizations. The labor of the comparatively few who voluntarily assume the arduous labors incident to the constant advancement of reform are made unfairly burdensome because of the indifference (not to use a harsher term) to duty manifested by the average citizen. Every citizen should be a politician in the best sense of the term, and if every man in New Orleans who has much to gain by the honest administration of government took and maintained an active interest in public affairs, the ward-bummer, ward-heeler and ward-boss would soon be "gone, glimmering through the dream of things that were."

In his magnificent address at Princeton University last October, Grover Cleveland made use of the following language, and every American citizen should "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest its great truths" : "It is exceedingly unfortunate that politics should be regarded in any quarter as an unclean thing, to be avoided by those claiming to be educated or respectable. It would be strange indeed if anything related to the administration of our government or the welfare of our nation should be essentially degrading. I believe it is not a

superstitious sentiment that leads to the conviction that God has watched over our national life from its beginning. Who will say that the things worthy of God's regard and fostering care are unworthy of the touch of the wisest and best men?"

We are striving to keep the purposes of our organization constantly in the eye of the public, and that sleepless vigilance must be maintained or the unresting apostles of corruption will gradually worm themselves back into power from which they can only be dislodged by an upheaval of the people. And when this upheaval comes and the people once more enter upon their own, the cause of reform is embarrassed and delayed by the obligations assumed and the burdens imposed by the spoliators during the time they had possession of the government.

Our organization will try to see to it that the fences around our municipal prosperity are kept up so that at no unguarded moment can the wild cattle we once drove out break in again and "make havoc of our works."

THE MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF ST. LOUIS.

FREDERICK W. DEWART, Esq.

It is essential to a proper understanding of this subject to know the legal status of St. Louis, and as St. Louis has not had a representative heretofore in these meetings, I shall give a statement of our charter law.

When the constitution of Missouri was framed, in 1875, the delegates from St. Louis secured the adoption of the following provision :

“The city of St. Louis may extend its limits so as to embrace the parks now without its boundaries and other convenient and contiguous territory, and frame a charter for the government of the city thus enlarged, upon the following conditions, that is to say : The Council of the city and County Court of the county of St. Louis shall, at the request of the mayor of the city of St. Louis, meet in joint session and order an election, to be held as provided for general elections, by the qualified voters of the city and county of a board of thirteen freeholders of such city or county, whose duty shall be to propose a scheme for the enlargement and definition of the boundaries of the city, the reorganization of the government of the county, the adjustment of the relations between the city thus enlarged and the residue of St. Louis county, and the government of the city thus enlarged, by a charter in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of Missouri, which shall, among other things, provide for a chief executive and two houses of legislation, one of which shall be elected by general ticket, which scheme and charter shall be signed in duplicate by said board or a majority of them, and one of them returned to the mayor of the city and the other to the

presiding justice of the County Court within ninety days after the election of such board. Within thirty days thereafter the City Council and County Court shall submit such scheme to the qualified voters of the whole county, and such charter to the qualified voters of the city so enlarged at an election to be held not less than twenty nor more than thirty days after the order thereof; and if a majority of such qualified voters voting at such election shall ratify such scheme and charter, then such scheme shall become the organic law of the county and city, and such charter the organic law of the city, and at the end of sixty days thereafter shall take the place of and supersede the charter of St. Louis and all amendments thereof, and all special laws relating to St. Louis county inconsistent with such scheme."

Later the representatives from the State, fearful lest they had gone too far, inserted the following, which the courts have since decided merely stated a power which already existed in the General Assembly :

"Notwithstanding the provisions of this article, the General Assembly shall have the same power over the city and county of St. Louis that it has over other cities and counties of this State."

Under the authority thus conferred thirteen freeholders of St. Louis city and county met and framed a charter for the government of the city of St. Louis, and also a scheme for the separation of the governments of St. Louis city and county. The scheme and charter were adopted at a special election held soon after, and on October 22, 1876, became the organic law of the city of St. Louis.

Under this grant from the people themselves the city of St. Louis has home rule—that is, the right to manage her own affairs without outside interference. As was said by Mr. Justice Brewer in the decision of a case in the Supreme Court of the United States :

"The city of St. Louis occupies a unique position. It does not, like most cities, derive its powers by grant from the Legis-

lature, but it framed its own charter under express authority from the people of the State, given in the constitution. . . . And this charter is an organic act, so defined in the constitution, and is to be construed as organic acts are construed. The city is in a very just sense an 'imperium in imperio.' Its powers are self-appointed, and the reserved control existing in the General Assembly does not take away this peculiar feature of its charter."

But it must not be thought that St. Louis cannot be affected by State legislation. It is true that, in view of the provisions of the constitution, the courts have said that the Legislature cannot interfere in matters of merely local or municipal concern, and in furtherance thereof have decided that the Legislature could not extend the limits of the city or change the method of taxation for street improvements or provide a board of park commissioners, for these are all matters of purely municipal concern.

However, there are State laws affecting the local affairs of our city which have been declared valid by the courts. These laws, upon examination, will be found to fall into one of the three following classes :

1. Laws which provide for the carrying out of the duties of the State. Thus, under the duty of providing for a State revenue, we have a law in conflict with the charter's provisions, regulating the mode of assessments of railroads for taxation, and also a law providing for a commissioner with exclusive authority to issue dramshop licenses in the city of St. Louis. In both of these instances our municipal matters are interfered with by the State, but only as an incident to the proper carrying out of the State's duties ; and so both laws have been declared valid by our courts.

2. Legislation which is necessary or appropriate to carry into effect a positive command of the constitution, or is directly required or directly contemplated by its terms. Under this there are laws for the regulation of elections, city as well as State, procedure of the courts, government of public schools, and fees and

duties of the State officials of the city, such as the sheriff and coroner. Some of these might be placed under the first class also, but they are all named in our constitution as subjects for legislation by the General Assembly of the State.

3. Laws regulating municipal matters which the State had enacted previous to the adoption of the charter; and as the charter must be in harmony with the State laws, the city is unable to adopt provisions governing such matters. Under this comes our police system, concerning which the only right St. Louis has is to pay the bills which are incurred.

The decisions of our courts are numerous on this subject, but it is not entirely settled, as yet, what are State affairs and what are municipal affairs. Thus, in 1895, the Legislature passed an act which provided that all franchises in a city should be sold to the highest bidder. This act has not been tested in the courts, but on advice of counsel it has been generally disregarded both by cities and corporations, although some attorneys consider the act valid. We shall not know which is right until the question has been passed upon by the courts.

Under the charter, every four years St. Louis elects a mayor, auditor, comptroller, treasurer, collector, president of the Board of Assessors, president of the Board of Public Improvements, and several minor officers. When the people have elected these and the members of the Municipal Assembly, to be spoken of later, they rest from their labors, for in the hands of these few officials has been placed all the power which may be exercised by anyone in our city. We may narrow the responsibility even more, for with the exception of the Municipal Assembly, the legislative department of the government, all the officials are practically responsible to the mayor, for the appointment of all subordinates must be by him, and he has large power of control over the departments themselves.

The mayor appoints, subject to the approval of the Council, the heads of the remaining fifteen departments, the officials for

the police courts, and twenty-eight of the more important officials in the various departments. All other appointments, with a few exceptions, are made by the head of the department, but must be approved by the mayor. The experience of St. Louis sanctions this large grant of power and also the limitation that all of the mayor's appointments shall be approved by the Council. Responsibility is not so certainly fixed, but the practical workings of this plan have been good. While combinations of councilmen have rejected nominations for political or other reasons, the result with us generally has been that better nominations succeed the rejection.

However, there are two provisions in the charter with regard to officials which we believe should be changed. One is that which provides that the mayor's appointments shall be made at the beginning of the third year of his term. The framers of the charter thought by this provision to exclude politics from the appointments, but the opposite has been the result. At present a mayor works for two years with officials under him who may be out of harmony with him and who were not appointed by him, so that he cannot be held to a strict responsibility for the workings of the departments during that time. Another result is that after two years of office the mayor may begin to plan to succeed himself, and make some of his appointments looking to that end. The mayor is hampered also by having a large part of his time during these first two years taken by applicants for office. These faults would be remedied by having the appointments made early in the mayor's term.

The other provision which should be changed declares that "any appointed officer may be removed by the mayor for cause." The courts have interpreted this to mean that after charges are preferred at least the farce of a trial must be gone through with, in which the mayor acts as prosecutor, judge and jury. In one case the official, by appealing to the courts, was able to prevent his removal for over a year after sufficient charges were filed against him. In this case the court decided

that the officer could retain the position pending the various trials and appeals in the different courts. It is believed that the results would be better if the mayor could remove at his discretion by assigning the cause in the order for removal ; this to apply to the appointees of the mayor and all of their subordinates. The right of appeal to the courts should not be interfered with.

The legislative department of our municipality consists of the Council, composed of thirteen members, elected by the city at large for four years—six and the president being elected with the mayor, and six being elected two years later ; and the House of Delegates, composed of twenty-eight members, elected for two years, one from each ward in the city. Each member of the Assembly receives a salary of three hundred dollars a year.

The Assembly is given large power over the affairs of the city, for it has not only the exclusive power of general legislation but it fixes the rate of taxation, and its consent is essential before any improvement is undertaken. Nothing is done except pursuant to an ordinance which must be passed by both houses of the Assembly and signed by the mayor. The number of employes, and all salaries or compensation, except for day laborers, must be fixed by ordinance. All appropriations are made by ordinance, but there is the limitation that such an ordinance cannot be passed until it has been indorsed by the comptroller stating that there is money in the treasury for the payment contemplated. There is the limitation also that all ordinances for public work must be recommended by the Board of Public Improvements. The mayor may veto any ordinance which then requires a two-thirds vote of all the members of each house for passage. The mayor is given power also to veto specific items in an appropriation bill. The work of the Assembly is purely legislative, except in the confirmation of appointments and in the approval of contracts and bonds ; the executive functions are entirely withheld from the Assembly, and the experience of St. Louis approves that arrangement.

While the plan of the two houses in the municipal assembly has not been an unmixed good in St. Louis, it has shown certain beneficial features which cause us to prefer it to a single chamber. The election of the members of the House of Delegates from the several wards gives to every section of the city a representative who looks after the especial interests of that section. There is a large advantage in this feature, for the member will oppose those local matters which the people of his ward do not want, and he is continually on the watch to see that his ward gets those improvements which are needed and desired by his people. The members of the Council are elected by the city at large and have not the local knowledge which is desirable; nor have they at heart, as a rule, the interests of any particular locality of the city.

Two houses passing on all matters of legislation have proved in many instances an advantage; a measure often will slip through one house without proper consideration, but it is almost impossible for it in that way to pass both houses. It is true that it is more difficult to get so-called reform measures through two houses than through one; but this is of secondary importance, because in modern times the work of such a legislative body is more negative in character—that is, it is confined largely to resisting unwise measures rather than to urging positively good ones. For these reasons St. Louis is not prepared to give up the plan of two houses in the Municipal Assembly.

The question of compensation to assemblymen is often raised. It is believed that the amount of three hundred dollars a year, which our city pays, about covers the expenses of the members, and that is all it is desirable to do. If the salary were larger it would make the position more attractive to the undesirable applicants, while it is doubtful if even a large increase would be any inducement to those citizens whose services would be of real value to the city.

There is one change, however, which if made would prove helpful in securing competent men to stand for election. Under

the present provision there is a single session of the Assembly beginning on the third Tuesday of April in each year, and there can be no adjournment for more than a week without the consent of both houses. Some of the members of the Assembly are accustomed to remain in the city the entire year, and they have no objections to meeting every week; but if a man's interests or affairs require his absence from the city at some part of the year he finds that while he is a member of the Assembly he cannot arrange to be absent with any certainty that the Assembly will not be in session at that time. If provision were made for two sessions of the Assembly each year, beginning in April and October respectively, each to last three months and no longer, then the man of affairs would know that for certain months he would be free from official duties, and could arrange his plans accordingly. It is believed that such an arrangement would enable some men to be candidates who now feel that they cannot risk neglecting other duties.

There was one experiment which the framers of the scheme and charter decided upon which has proved in practice to be an admirable arrangement, and the framers of the charter of Greater New York incorporated the principle in the plan which they prepared. I refer to the Board of Public Improvements. The Board in our charter consists of six members. Five are appointed by the mayor, subject to the approval of the Council, and are the commissioners respectively of the departments of water, sewer, streets, harbor and wharf, and parks. The president of the Board is elected for four years and has a general supervision over the five departments.

Under this arrangement the five departments are subordinate to the whole Board. The Board determines upon the plans for work in the several departments, and has the proper ordinances drawn up and introduced into the Assembly. All ordinances for public work must be introduced into the Assembly by the Board of Public Improvements. After the passage of the ordinance, which may contain only the one subject, the Board

advertises for bids, and the work must be let by contract to the lowest responsible bidder, subject to the approval of the Council. The work is then carried on under the supervision and inspection of the department which is directly concerned in the work. By this plan each department has the benefit of the experience and work of the other departments, and all work is done under the supervision of the departments which are concerned therein or affected thereby. For example, the laying of water pipe is arranged by the departments of water, streets, and sewer. The work is carried on harmoniously in the several departments, and each, while looking after its own interests, helps its neighbor.

The water works are the property of the city, and are a good investment. Our water rates are a little high, but the city pays nothing for the use of water for its buildings, or for its several uses, including the fire service and street sprinkling, and the rates pay for improvements and extensions of the service, and the revenue is sufficient to pay for what we are greatly in need of—a proper system of filtration. The water of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Missouri, is so muddy that the ordinary filter cannot do the work, and we must work out our own plan of filtration. While the water is muddy, especially at certain seasons of the year, upon examination it proves to be very pure and free from organic matter. Our charter provides that the revenue from the water cannot be diverted to any other use than that of the water department, and if at any time there be any excess above the expenses the bonds of that department shall be redeemed.

By an amendment to the charter, adopted in 1886, it was provided that the street sprinkling should be done by the city, and the cost defrayed by a special tax against the property fronting on the streets sprinkled. The work is contracted for annually by the Board of Public Improvements, the city being divided into fifty-four districts for this purpose, and the districts are let separately. The sprinkling is done under the supervision of the street department, which has twenty-one special inspectors to

supervise the work. This arrangement has proved very successful, for the city determines what streets need sprinkling, and the property-owner has nothing to do except to pay his tax at the proper time ; the work is done better than is the rule under private contract, and the cost is very small, in 1895 being only two and one-half cents per front foot, while it was even less in 1896. It is now proposed to have the street cleaning done in the same manner, and to issue a special tax on the property in payment.

All articles needed by the city in any of the departments are purchased through the office of the commissioner of supplies, who is appointed by the mayor. The only exceptions to this are the contracts let by the Board of Public Improvements, and all printing, which is let by the register or city clerk. Whenever it is practicable, the commissioner of supplies advertises for proposals for the articles needed, and the award is made to the lowest bidder. All such contracts must be approved by the mayor before they are binding on the city.

The financial management of St. Louis always has been good. The bonded debt is under twenty-one millions, the rate of taxation is limited by the State constitution and cannot be increased except by the vote of the people, and then only for the single purpose of erecting public buildings. Of our bonded indebtedness the water works is responsible for about six millions, and the debt of the county, which was assumed by the city, represents six millions. The interest rate averages a little over four per cent., and is gradually being reduced ; the last bonds issued by the city bore only three and sixty-five-hundredths per cent. interest, and were sold at a premium.

The improvements in St. Louis in the way of buildings for eleemosynary institutions, new parks, improved streets, sewers and the like, have not kept pace with the demand because there has not been sufficient money for them. St. Louis is not extravagant in her expenses, and the salary account is too low rather than too high, both in the number of employes and the

salary paid, \$5,000 being the limit. There are several reasons for this lack of revenue, some the fault of the laws and some arising from the failure to execute properly the laws which are in existence. The first and principal reason lies in the fact that when St. Louis adopted the charter she assumed all the county debt. This has been a considerable burden, for it is now more than one-third the total bonded indebtedness of the city. It is especially severe, because there is in St. Louis no taxation for county purposes, so that not only does the interest on this debt come out of the city revenue, but in addition the city has to pay out of the city revenue all the regular county expenses. Thus the expense of the coroner, sheriff, hospitals, insane asylum, and the like, are a charge upon the city revenue, while in most, if not all, cities these county expenses are paid by a county tax, which is in addition to the tax for municipal purposes. There can be no question that St. Louis should be empowered to levy a tax equal to the county tax in addition to the regular tax for municipal purposes. This, however, can be done only through a constitutional amendment.

In considering the other causes, we are brought to the subject of franchises. St. Louis has excellent street railway facilities; there are ten railways, or systems of railways, which give rapid transit, transfers, and the best of accommodations for the regular fare. Competition in this has worked well, and I venture to say that the people do not desire consolidation, fearing that while it may bring increased profits to the shareholders it will not bring increased anxiety to serve the public. The first railway franchises granted were without any return to the city, because at that time the profits in such enterprises were too uncertain to tempt capital; but in late years, when the returns were certain, the city officials have not always seen that the city received proper compensation in return for the rights granted. For the past four years, however, the interests of the city have been carefully looked after, so that during that time no franchise was granted without proper compensation to the city, which

usually was about three per cent. of the gross receipts. We believe it is not practicable to sell these franchises to the lowest bidder, where there are established lines running through the city, but it is practicable to insist on a certain percentage of the gross receipts as the consideration to the city. Most of the franchises have about forty years to run, and the city will have the opportunity to see that renewals are properly paid for. During 1896 St. Louis received from her street railway franchise privileges the sum of \$74,139.18, and the amount will increase from year to year.

There is one class of franchises which is given away in St. Louis, even to-day, in which some cities, especially continental ones, have found a considerable revenue. I refer to the uses of a highway, above or below the surface, by an abutting owner. If St. Louis were to receive a yearly rental from every lot-owner who uses for private purposes a certain part of the street in front of his property, the aggregate would be considerable. This would include rent for signs across the sidewalk, if they be allowed at all, for stepping-stones, hitching-posts, vaults, pipes of various kinds—in fact, any and every such use of a street. To-day these are illegally given away in St. Louis by means of what is called a mayor's permit. This is practically nothing more than a written promise by the mayor that he will remit any fine, or pardon any punishment which may be incurred by the holder in violating the provisions of the city ordinances. These permits are granted in our city for any purpose up to and including the laying of a railroad track. The courts have declared them worthless and have in one instance enjoined their issuance, but it takes a legal injunction at least to stop them.

But a more certain and definite loss of income arises from the failure to collect the licenses and license taxes. The facts are that in a city of over six hundred thousand inhabitants only forty-seven real estate dealers paid a license in 1896; that only \$4,323.67 was collected for dog licenses in the same year, while in 1883 it was \$18,131.50; that in 1892, while we had 2,400

saloons; only \$863,382.64 was collected for the city dramshop license, but in 1893, under a strict enforcement of the law, brought about by a division of the duties, \$968,489.58 was collected, and there were less than 1,800 saloons. Heretofore there has been no system in the collection of licenses, but under an ordinance which has just gone into effect, a new officer—a license commissioner—is provided for, and it is hoped that the difficulties under which license collections have labored will be obviated.

St. Louis has no civil service or merit system of appointment in any department. Under our system of letting out the public work by contract to the lowest bidder there are only four departments employing any considerable number of men: the police, with about 1,100; the street department, employing usually 700; the water department, having about 450, and the fire department, with about 400 employes.

On account of the need of skilled labor in most of the positions, and because the commissioner was a capable engineer, the water department has been largely free from politics; while suggestions have been received, it has been insisted that none but capable men could hold the positions, and as a result the city has received value for its payments.

In our fire department, also, politics have been secondary, and it is not necessary to find any other reason than that the chiefs have had the sagacity to see that political firemen could not manage fires; while appointments are made almost exclusively from the members of the political party in power, an applicant must have the proper qualifications in order to be appointed.

When we come to the street department, however, we find that this has been considered the one deliberate spoils ground of both parties, and, with the exception of a few men whose services are too valuable to be dispensed with, the employes know that the tenure of their office depends largely on their ability to maintain the political pull which procured them the situation.

However weak the street department is, it is not to be compared with the police. Our police are in charge of a board composed of the mayor and four commissioners, the latter being appointed by the Governor. The expense of the department is borne entirely by the city, but the citizens of St. Louis, with a representation of one in five on the board, have not been able to accomplish much; the police force is primarily a political machine; secondarily it is for the protection of the citizens; as the city is Republican and the State Democratic, and as any alteration in the system must be made by the State Legislature, no change is expected soon.

During the last administration a charter commission was appointed whose duty it was to recommend to the Assembly amendments to the charter. The report and amendments were completed and forwarded too late for action by the last Assembly, but they will probably be taken up at an early date by the present body. While it is to be hoped that some of the proposed amendments will be stricken out, there are many good changes suggested. Among the amendments recommended was one suggested by the Commercial Club, providing for the merit system of appointment in all departments under the control of the city. If the Assembly will submit this amendment to the people, we are very certain it will be adopted. Its adoption will not give us good municipal government, but it will serve to make our municipal system equal to the best in the country.

The municipal elections are held in the spring, and are entirely separate from both national and State elections. St. Louis, with a registration of 130,000, is normally a Republican city by a safe majority. There is in most elections an independent vote of about 8,000, which goes to the best individuals on the several tickets. Thus at the national election last fall the general Republican ticket was elected by a majority of about 15,000, but the majority of some on the ticket was as low as 1,000. St. Louis always has been a party city, but it has not suffered from political bossism in the sense in which that term is

used in other cities. The majorities are not large enough, nor are the people subservient enough to permit that kind of government.

St. Louis has a small floating population, few tenements, and a large percentage of home owners. As would be expected from these facts, a large proportion of the people are anxious for good government, though they differ as to the methods of accomplishing this purpose. The people, however, are conservative, and slow to arouse to a change. Evils which are known are permitted to continue because they are comparatively small and the people expect there will soon be a change, though they do not see clearly how it will be accomplished.

In the municipal election in the spring of 1891 an independent municipal ticket was put in the field by a body of citizens who undertook to assert the need of distinct municipal parties. This ticket, while not elected, polled almost as many votes as the Republican ticket, and served to show the possibilities of municipal parties in St. Louis.

There are evidences that the people are considering these matters and are anxious to accomplish something. Last year a Civic Federation was started and branch organizations sprang up in every ward in the city. The people were ready and eager for such a body to work with and to instruct them; yet when the election was held in the spring the Federation failed entirely to accomplish anything. But the interest taken, the organization accomplished, and the spirit in which the work was done showed that under different conditions and better leadership such an organization would have exercised a decisive influence on the result.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF KANSAS CITY.

REV. HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.

These meetings may become chiefly valuable for the facts and experiences put on record here. I have the honor to report for Kansas City, Missouri.

The mayor is elected every two years; the legislative power is vested in a Common Council consisting of two houses. The number of members of each house is equal to the number of wards in the city. The members of the upper house are elected from the city at large by all the voters of the city, and the members of the lower house are elected from each ward. In addition to the mayor, the treasurer, auditor, police judge and city attorney are elected—all holding office for two years; at the middle of his term the mayor appoints a city counsellor, city clerk, city physician, assessor and comptroller, by and with the consent of a majority of the members-elect of the upper house. At the beginning of his term the mayor appoints three members of the Board of Public Works, with the approval of the upper house; these three members, with the president of the upper house, who is president of the Board, make up the Board of Public Works. It is provided that not more than two members of the Board of Public Works shall belong to the same political party. In case of a tie the president of the Board may cast two votes. The Board of Public Works has charge of the streets and street improvements, sewers, public buildings, purchase of supplies, making of contracts for public work, etc., and acts as water commissioner. There are some anomalies in the matter of the appointment of heads of departments. The Board of Public Works appoints the city engineer, who has

charge of the very important department of engineering ; the mayor, with the approval of the upper house of the Common Council, appoints the street commissioner and the superintendent of buildings, both of whose departments are under the supervision of the Board of Public Works. The superintendent of the water works is appointed by the Board of Public Works with the approval of the mayor and the majority of the members of the upper house. The Board of Park Commissioners is appointed by the mayor without any confirmation. This provision was contained in a charter amendment adopted in 1895. Not more than three commissioners shall belong to the same political party.

All elections within the city, whether State and county, or city elections, are held by the Board of Election Commissioners, consisting of three members. Two members are appointed by the governor, one of whom is chairman of the Board. The third member, who is secretary of the Board, is appointed by the mayor, and must not belong to the same political party as the chairman. This law has worked well, and there has been practically no complaint since it was adopted. This is provided by the State law, and not by the charter. The Board of Police Commissioners consists of the mayor, who is *ex officio* president of the Board, and two other members appointed by the governor, with the concurrence of the State Senate. This provision was contained in the State law when the present law was adopted, and was embodied in the charter. A coal oil inspector is also appointed by the governor. The only reason for this seems to be that it creates a lucrative office whose incumbent is paid by fees, so that nothing is paid from the State treasury. At the present time it is considered essential to good municipal government that this officer be a pronounced adherent of the Democracy according to the Chicago platform. If our governor were a Republican it would be equally essential that the coal oil inspector of our city be sound on the tariff question.

Concerning the appointment by the governor of a majority of the Board of Police Commissioners, I remark in passing that this gives him control of the police organization of the city, thus making it possible that this force, which exists solely for the protection of the life and property of the citizens of Kansas City, and is paid for exclusively by them, be manipulated by a man at Jefferson City to promote, it may be, his own personal political ambitions, or in the interests of a State or national political issue, to the detriment of law and order in the city. It also makes the governor liable to be used by partisan city cliques for their own ends. Not being familiar with local conditions he relies on the interested advice of a few members of his party in making his appointments, and is often grievously misinformed. At all events the police organization has been undisguisedly used at different times as a part of the State political machine, and in a manner, especially before important elections, to make certain classes of law-breakers feel safe. The only scandals that have arisen in the municipal government of Kansas City within the past ten years have been in the offices of recorder of voters and police commissioner, and it is significant that both of these offices are filled by appointment of the governor. A party organ at the other end of the State has lately been in a condition of great unrest because one of our newly appointed police commissioners is said "to have leanings toward the gold standard and all that it implies," from which he was supposed to have "professed conversion." This paper has been greatly excited because the Board has "turned out a stalwart free silver Democrat as chief of police," and appointed as his successor a man in every way exceptionally qualified for the place, but who is obnoxious to some elements of the party throughout the State.

Taxation for general purposes is limited by the State constitution to one per cent. of the assessed value of the property. A small additional levy is made to pay the interest on the debt and to keep up a sinking fund. This amount this year is two-tenths

of one per cent., and will probably never be any larger. In addition there may be a levy upon the land, exclusive of improvements, in the different park districts, of a special assessment for the care and maintenance of parks and boulevards. This has not exceeded two-tenths of one per cent. The assessed value of property is supposed to be about forty per cent. of its real value; really it is considerably less, often not amounting to twenty-five per cent. Street improvements and sewers are generally paid for by special assessment on the property immediately affected. Many paving bills are made payable in four installments.

A noteworthy feature of our organic law is the provision for cash payments. The provision reads as follows: "The Common Council shall not appropriate money for any purpose whatever in excess of the revenue of that fiscal year actually collected and in the treasury at the time of such appropriation and unappropriated;" and the city is prohibited from making any contract or incurring any liability until the money is actually in the treasury to the credit of that particular fund to meet such liability; and before the passage of any ordinance appropriating money it goes to the comptroller to receive his certificate that the money is actually on hand; and any violation of these provisions is made a misdemeanor and punishable by fine and imprisonment. This is an inheritance from the charter of 1875, which was prepared with great care by some of our leading citizens, and was vigorously fought by the "ringsters" who then infested the city. Before that time the city was flooded with certificates which had been issued. Debts were incurred without any thought as to when or how they were to be paid. By the new charter all this was changed. These certificates were called in and bonds issued for them, and the city put on a cash basis. The result has been that we have A. No. 1 credit in the financial world.

The unique and perhaps the most interesting feature of the legal status of Kansas City to-day is the extent to which it enjoys home rule. It is one of only five cities in the country

which has the power to make and amend its own charter without the aid of the Legislature, and it is the only city in the country whose charter can be amended by the vote of the people and "not otherwise," unless St. Louis also, in spite of its different provisions, enjoys the same privilege. This power has, under the State constitution, been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the State. In the Park Board case (*Kansas City ex rel. vs. Scarritt et al.*, 127 Mo., 642) there is appended to the report a brief statement by Clarence Palmer, Esq., now Assistant City Counsellor, on the history of this provision; the ruling of the court; and on the similar but less sweeping provision in the State constitutions of California and Washington. (See also an article by Mr. Palmer in the *Kansas City Bar Monthly*, April, 1896, on "Municipal Home Rule"; also, in the same number of the same publication, an article by W. C. Scarritt, Esq., on "The Kansas City Charter"). It is of course provided that "such charter shall always be in harmony with, and subject to, the laws of the State." In the adoption of a new charter four-sevenths of the vote cast is required to ratify, and in the adoption of an amendment to an existing charter three-fifths.

This power to make and amend our own laws has in it the possibility of great annoyance and injury (as Mr. Palmer in his paper suggests), but so has any intrusting of power to the whole people. On the other hand, when a charter can only be given or changed by the State Legislature, schemers resort to the legislative halls of the State capital and seek such charter legislation as will promote their personal ends. The average member of the Legislature from the country is honest and well-intentioned, but he knows nothing of the needs of a great municipality and he has no occasion to inform himself. Party prejudice and the blandishments of the lobbyists are important factors in this kind of legislation. Hon. Lyman J. Gage, in speaking of the relation of Chicago to the State of Illinois, said: "There is no reason to suppose that if the people had not virtue and capacity enough to get good government for

themselves, they can **get any** help from the people of the rest of the State, who are not so very much more virtuous or wise, and who have immeasurably less at stake. Any change in that direction would be simply moving the evil from where we can get at it to where we cannot."

The adoption by the city of its present charter in 1889 and of amendments since that time, always by vote of the people after prolonged discussions in public meetings and through the press, has proved an invaluable education in good citizenship. It has been well said that "the correlative of the power to govern is the opportunity to govern," and in this particular Kansas City has made great advances in the past seven years. Not only has it secured an election law by which the registration of voters and the conduct of elections is intrusted to a non-partisan board, as already noted, and elaborate safeguards are thrown around the purity of the ballot, but by law and the practice of the governing committees of its great political parties it holds its primaries for the nomination of candidates for municipal offices so that every voter belonging to these parties can have an equal voice in the making of nominations for his party. The majority of the people want good government. The majority elects, but the majority does not nominate. If the people can control, and will control the primary, our municipalities are safe. Strange as it may seem, the average American citizen does not understand that this is the strategic point which the friends of government by the people must hold, or we shall be put to rout along the whole line. We think that we have made in Kansas City a substantial contribution to the cause of municipal reform in this regard.

The city acquired possession of the water works September 1st, 1895, after a long litigation with the National Water Works Company, a private corporation which built and had operated the works for more than twenty years. Before this time the city paid annually nearly seventy thousand dollars in hydrant rentals. Since acquiring possession of the property

the city has paid nothing for water for municipal purposes, has added greatly to the distributing system, has appropriated about fifty thousand dollars for new boilers and engine, and has put ninety thousand dollars into the sinking fund, besides meeting the interest on the bonds and paying all operating expenses, salaries and repairs. This has been done with the proceeds of the water rates, which are the same as the published rates of the National Water Works Company. The water supply is as inexhaustible as the Missouri River, and, when settled and filtered, as good as any water on earth. Water, like light and air and roads, is a primary condition of civilization, and ought to be furnished free for all public uses, and at cost price to every citizen. A strict civil service requirement in the appointment to the service of the water works department failed to become a law by the refusal, up to date, of the lower house of the City Council to concur; but public opinion demands its enactment, and it is sure to come.

The city ownership of street railways and of the gas and electric lighting plant has been lately indefinitely postponed in a manner discreditable to our municipal intelligence, to say nothing of our honesty.

After trying two acts of the Legislature which were declared unconstitutional, and three charter provisions which were impracticable, the city—by a vote of the people in 1895—acquired a practical park law, which has met the approval of the Supreme Court. Under this law a number of proceedings have already been taken and the city has begun to acquire land for parks and boulevards. Under an old law in April, 1892, a park and boulevard commission was appointed. They visited the great cities of the country, studied their park systems and park laws, and for two seasons, with their engineers, studied the topography of the city and its surroundings. The commission availed itself of the advice of F. L. Olmstead & Co., of national fame, and had the constant and skillful aid of Mr. George E. Kessler, a local landscape architect. As a result of all this they

presented an elaborate and comprehensive scheme, which was, in effect, overwhelmingly indorsed by the popular vote in the charter election of 1895. This plan contemplates a complete boulevard around the city; while through the heart of the city, eleven blocks from the main street, extends a park boulevard or paseo, 240 feet wide and nearly a mile long, ending in a parade ground of twenty acres. Local parks, play grounds, public squares and gardens are provided close to and in the midst of the population. These plans, when fully carried out, will give the city one of the most available, comprehensive and extensive, as well as varied, beautiful and picturesque, systems of parks and boulevards in the world. The high limestone bluffs fronting the river north and west, the ravines and valleys penetrating them, the rolling character of the land upon which the city is built, the great natural fertility and beauty of the outlying country, the abundance of water available, the fine remnants of magnificent natural forests, all lend themselves to the landscape engineer's taste and skill to produce a wonderful variety of striking and beautiful effects. These proposed parks and pleasure grounds embrace about three hundred and eighteen acres. Strong and reasonable opposition to some part of this scheme has developed, owing mainly to excessive costs in certain districts, but no one desires to see the general plan accepted by the people abandoned, and it is certain of ultimate realization. In addition to this, and yet a magnificent part of the whole system, is a tract of 1,314 acres of natural park with wonderfully diversified attractions of hill, meadow, forest and stream, lying about five miles south from the business center, the munificent gift to the city last year of Thomas H. Swope, Esq.

The law under which Kansas City is building this system of parks and boulevards is at once comprehensive and concise. It was framed and adopted as an amendment to the charter of Kansas City and constitutes Article X of the charter. Under it a Board of Park Commissioners, consisting of five members,

serving without pay and appointed by the mayor without confirmation of the Common Council, are directed to devise and adopt a system of public parks and boulevards and to select lands for that purpose within and without the city limits, and to select routes and streets for boulevards, and to recommend such selection to the City Council, who are empowered, upon such recommendation, and not otherwise, to provide, by ordinance, for the acquisition and establishment of a park system by purchase or condemnation. No ordinance can be passed by the Common Council with reference to the establishment or government and regulation of the park and boulevard system, except upon the recommendation and with the concurrence of the Board of Park Commissioners, who are given power, under the city charter, as an administrative board of said city, to superintend, control and manage any and all parks and boulevards belonging to the city, and to improve, adorn and regulate the same in such manner as they may deem best.

Parks may be paid for either by a general levy, or by the issue of bonds of the city within the limitation of the constitution, or by assessment of special benefits upon real estate in the neighborhood or park district in which the lands are acquired, the assessment to be in proportion to the benefit which a jury of six freeholders, empaneled in the proceeding, may deem the property to receive.

The city is divided into park districts, influenced by the topography of the city, and these districts may be assessed for the maintenance of the parks and boulevards within their limits.

The salient feature of the park law is the requirement of the concurrence of both the Board of Park Commissioners and the Common Council in the selection and acquisition of parks, and in all matters of taxation with reference thereto, so that an abuse of power or discretion on the part of either body is made difficult, if not impossible.

A form of security is provided for, called a park fund certificate, which is based upon the special assessments of benefits

made upon private property in payment of parks established in the park districts, and which is payable out of the fund derived from the collection of these assessments. These assessments may be made in installments running over twenty years, and the holders of the park fund certificates are paid annually the amount of principal and interest collected on the assessments, making a very desirable form of security as an investment, and at the same time making the burden light upon the property owner on account of the extended period which is given him within which to pay his assessments.

The creation of municipal patriotism is aided by various organizations. Of these the most important is the Commercial Club, to which most of the leading business men belong. It seeks, as its articles of association declare, "extension of trade," "the commercial development of the city," but also to "secure concerted action upon matters of public interest." Every good thing now being realized for the advantage of the city has received its powerful indorsement and support. For example : The new public library building, just approaching completion ; the manual training school for boys and girls, to be first occupied this autumn ; the conduit system, which puts the telegraph and telephone wires under ground by the first of July ; and the city ordinance abating the smoke nuisance, to become effective on the first day of October. The success of the movement for parks and boulevards was largely owing to its active interest and hearty support. The Commercial Club believes in clean streets, a rigid enforcement of sanitary law, and an efficient police system, and says so. They displayed at their last annual meeting, in the largest kind of letters, the legend : "*Make Kansas City a good place to live in.*" The indirect benefit of such a body of men in a city is of immense value in the moulding of right public opinion.

In mentioning new things I ought not to omit the Easter municipal house cleaning, organized this year by our efficient mayor. who abhors dirt ; nor the successful inauguration of the

Agricultural Commission, better known as the "Pingree potato patch plan."

The Municipal Improvement Association is an incorporated institution with a membership limited to fifty, and maintains nine standing committees, each upon a designated branch of municipal activity. Each member of the Association is on at least one such standing committee, and the chairman of each committee is a member of the board of directors.

Its objects, as stated in its constitution are : First—"The accumulation and study of all such information and statistics in the experience of other cities as may have a bearing

- a.* Upon the method of laying the public taxes.
- b.* Upon the expenditure of public money.
- c.* Upon the establishment and maintenance of public parks and boulevards.
- d.* Upon paving, sidewalks and street cleaning.
- e.* Upon water and gas service.
- f.* Upon sewerage and sanitation.
- g.* Upon the laying out of additions.
- h.* Upon all forms of intra-mural transportation.
- i.* Upon every department of municipal government and usage.

Second—To take vigorous and effective measures by the use of the information so obtained to secure the co-operation of all citizen in publishing and promoting every matter of improvement and reform which may benefit Kansas City, and secure for its inhabitants all the advantages to be obtained in the wise and economical administration of its affairs. Third—To secure the passage of such ordinances as will promote the health, comfort and safety of the community, and to this end to secure the enforcement, modification or repeal, as the case may require, of city ordinances and of State laws relating to municipalities.

This Association is composed of practical, disinterested men who are willing to give time and thought to municipal problems for the public benefit, and who believe that the administration of

the municipality is a business proposition, to be conducted, not for the advantage of any interest or party, but for the benefit of the whole people, on business principles. There is no politics in it and it has made itself strongly felt along different lines.

Various other organizations, which we have not time to mention, exist for the public weal, the promotion of good citizenship and the enforcement of law.

The Trades Unions are wide awake on city affairs, vigilant as to the expenditure of public money and sympathetic with progress. The "Priests of Pallas" and the "Karnival Krewe" are an important factor in the city life. They attempt to promote annually a season of entertainment for the people; to open the doors of the city and extend its welcome to the inhabitants of the surrounding country. This business is in good hands. Out of these efforts are being evolved methods of public amusement and entertainment that are intelligent and dignified. It is a good thing for the population to turn out *en masse* at times just for the fun of the thing, if they can be given something to do and see that is worth while. This is a department of city life as yet crude and unworthy, but important. We are far behind the cities of antiquity in this regard. I would suggest it as a good topic for a paper at the next annual meeting of this League.

We are proud of our School Board. It consists of six members, two chosen each year for six years. They are elected from the city at large and not as representing wards. Although only bi-partisan, it has been practically non-partisan and is non-sectarian. The bi-partisan plan has obtained for twenty-two years, but during the whole thirty years of the existence of the Board there has never been, that I can discover, a job of any kind in purchasing or building, or in the appointment of teachers. There has been no furthering of political ambitions, no rewarding of friends or punishing of enemies. The administration has been clean, able, impartial and progressive, because it has been intrusted to honest, educated and up-to-date men. Under

their care has grown up a school system which challenges comparison, culminating in a high school of two thousand pupils, which with its flexible and varied courses is a little university. A new high school, which will be also a manual training school, will be opened in the fall. This School Board has been an object lesson as to the wisdom of "no-politician" management in city business, and by its achievements has done more so far than any other agency to foster the true municipal spirit. A beautiful fireproof public library is just being completed at public expense under its direction.

As a result of these conditions and achievements Kansas City is now in process of rapid development into a real organism, and as a consequence there are multiplying signs of a civic consciousness. This I take to be the first condition of any noble municipal life. A piece of territory laid out in streets and built over with houses is not a municipality, nor are masses of people living on this territory fellow-citizens while they still remain unorganized, without common aims and sympathies, and without civic pride or patriotism. At first in a new city nearly every man is keen on the scent of his own personal gain and careless of common interests. He may be after an easy living or a quick fortune, but he wants it cheap and soon. It is a question of individual advancement and investment, and not of public improvement; of prompt and large returns, and not of remote benefit. When there begins to be a body of people known to each other who identify themselves with the city, who plant their root-trees and put themselves and their fortunes into the city to stay in it, and stay by it as a permanent home for their families, then the municipal day has dawned. And when this class of people get in control the sun of the city's day is full high advanced. There is now organic life. There is now combination, not only for safety and sanitation, but for education, religion, patriotism, taste, art and culture. These, too, begin to be a part of the city, an expression of its common life; and pretty soon the delightful discovery is made of the

boundless possibilities that lie in common action for the common good.

Emerging from the bitter experience of a small border town during the war, Kansas City passed painfully through the first stage spoken of with varying fortunes (badly broken fortunes in many instances), and is now entering upon the second stage. There was a period from 1865 to 1887 of immense increase of a population not homogeneous, always shifting, largely unassimilated, and at the same time there was, during the latter part of that period, an immense and disastrous extension of territory, in additions laid out simply for speculation. But "the boom" was not all loss. Out of that transitory population came much of the brains and public spirit of to-day, and from some of the superabundant new suburbs arose the finest residence sections of the present time.

We have had from the beginning more than our share, perhaps, of owners of unimproved property who, organizing no business, erecting no buildings and employing no labor, have sought to grow wealthy on the "unearned increment"; but there has been also from the first a nucleus of far-seeing, sagacious, honorable and courageous citizens, who, as occasions arose, acted together for the advancement of their city. In different crises and turning points they united to avert disaster or to take at its flood the tide which leads on to fortune. This united effort was largely of necessity for the sake of simple commercial advancement, but it laid the foundations and outlined the possibilities of all that is and is to be.

This young city at the center of the continent is crude, unfinished, very "western" and very proud of it. It is casual in its form, and is extremely ugly in spots. Our front yard is uglier than the ugliest spot in the ugliest city. We have the vices, weaknesses and meannesses of the average American city. We have the hobo, the ward heeler and the incipient boss. Our city hospital, although well administered, is not a credit to us, and our charities, though multiform and vigorous,

are not associated and unified. We have much to learn and to achieve. But to-day Kansas City stands, with the liquidation and contraction made necessary by the fictitious values of the inflation period fully accomplished, with real estate values at bed-rock, in the midst of a new era of conservative business enterprise, with population constantly growing, houses full and building enterprise prosperous. Facilities for intra-mural transportation are unsurpassed ; manufacturing is steadily increasing ; the debt of the city is small, its financial system sound, its credit unquestioned ; taxes are low, and the death rate at a minimum. In thirty-two years the place has grown from a steamboat landing for the Santa Fe trail, without a railroad, to the tenth city in the United States in postal business and bank clearings. It is now one of the largest railroad centers in the world, with four hundred trains entering and leaving every day, over twenty-seven lines, traversing nearly thirty States and Territories. In 1882, when numbering seventy thousand people, the city did not have a block of first-class street paving ; to-day there are 110 miles of paved streets, and in the dull year of 1896 the expenditure for paving was \$597,696.06. The stock-yards and packing-houses, the smelters and foundries, the elevators and mills, the agricultural implement depots, the factories, the wholesale houses and distributing agencies, are the solid industrial and commercial basis of the city's life, while now along all the lines of noble living there is new energy and fresh promise.

If the Hon. Lyman J. Gage could say of Chicago, as he did recently, "at least eighty per cent. of our people desire peace, good order, decency, honesty in administrative conscience, a pure ballot and an honest count," we can certainly claim as much. Our people are in a mood of impatience with official plunderers and law-breakers. They are realizing that in the question of municipal government is wrapped up the question of the perpetuation of republican institutions. Meantime there is an increasing number of men and women with trained minds,

in organizations and out of them, who are giving the contribution of their thought (the hardest contribution to get to any cause) to methods by which to correct the evils under which they are suffering. A noble spirit of civic life and courage has been awakened in a choice and determined body of citizens who are in the fight to stay, who appreciate the magnitude and majesty of the movement of which this meeting is a sign, and are ambitious to have a part in it; who believe that the love of beauty as well as the love of comfort may be organized, and that we are only on the border of the experience of what may be wisely done by common action for the common good. We have felt the spell of what Mr. Frederick Harrison called "the gigantic and scientific organization of municipal life" in the great capitals of Europe, and are keenly alive to the advance movements in our older American cities represented here. You may expect to hear good things of us as time goes on.

As a final word allow me to put on record the conviction which is the result of our experience, that a campaign against abuses, an attack on evils, is only a temporary expedient. No municipal reform organization on that negative basis can long prosper. The best way to empty is by filling. A positive program of public improvement is the only one that can have permanent inspiration and lasting success.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN SAN FRANCISCO.

J. RICHARD FREUD, ESQ.,Secretary, Merchants' Association.

Tested by the generally-accepted principles of municipal government prevailing in the United States to-day, San Francisco in many respects presents an anomaly. The very basis of a free city is self-government or home rule ; yet San Francisco is largely ruled by outside powers. Our organic law, known as the Consolidation Act, consists of special statutes passed by the Legislature of California forty years ago, when San Francisco had a tenth of her present population. Subsequent Legislatures of the State have tinkered and twisted this act with hundreds of amendments and supplements, until no one now can tell exactly what laws govern this city in many important points. In truth, the citizens of San Francisco have never really voted upon this conglomeration of statutes, and, therefore, in the sense of a municipal code ratified by the people, San Francisco has in reality no municipal charter.

The major part of a city government is comprised within the five departments of police, fire, health, parks, and elections. Their proper organization and management are vital to the welfare any stability of a municipality. These five departments are controlled in San Francisco by Boards of Commissioners. Although their annual cost of over \$2,000,000 is borne wholly by the city, she has neither choice in their selection nor control of their policies. These five Boards are almost wholly in the hands of the governor of the State, and, therefore, subject to his authority. Moreover, a peculiar interpretation of the law has given

life tenure of office to the Police Commissioners. Without entering into further details, it must be apparent that San Francisco is deprived of the supervision and control of those municipal affairs justly regarded as essential to the successful operation of a city government.

The city and county of San Francisco are one and the same. The boundaries of the peninsula are identical for both. The municipal officers are really city and county officials. Nevertheless, the laws governing the city have become so confused and uncertain that the Supreme Court of the State has recently decided that some municipal officers are city officials while others are county officials. This gives a two-year term and city functions to some, while it confers four-year terms and county authority upon others. To characterize such a condition of city government as chaotic is no exaggeration of the truth.

Civic experience throughout the civilized world has clearly demonstrated that the successful government of a city is a practical business proposition. The methods insuring success and the causes producing failure in a private corporation result likewise in a municipal corporation. Therefore a sound system of finance and revenue is the corner-stone of civic progress and prosperity. In this respect the Consolidation Act governing San Francisco exhibits flagrant defects, permitting undue burdens to be levied upon the taxpayers and unscrupulous officials to squander the public revenues. The completion of the City Hall, after a quarter of century and \$5,500,000 consumed in its construction, is an illustration of the absolute lack of business methods that has marred this municipality.

Owing to the absence of a number of separate, specific funds, money raised for one purpose is often diverted and sometimes perverted to other uses. Taxes levied ostensibly for particular objects are dumped into a so-called "general fund," and the general scramble for this fund precipitates an annual deficit. For example, bills aggregating hundreds of thousands of dollars for necessary supplies furnished the city remain unpaid because

the funds so provided were previously diverted into other channels. During the last fiscal year \$6,400,000 was expended in the maintenance and operation of this municipal government. With proper safeguards and economical methods half that sum would be ample.

The spoils system of political patronage, the bane of all good government, has dominated the politics of San Francisco. In the half century of her municipal life political bosses have held almost undisputed sway. No matter which political party won or lost, a political boss appeared triumphantly upon the horizon of the victorious administration. This ever-recurring scourge will never cease until the city adopts strict civil service rules and regulations in every department, and elects an accountable head with adequate power to supervise the entire municipality. San Francisco has been wise and fortunate in the choice of an unbroken line of twenty capable and honorable mayors in her history ; but, under the Consolidation Act, they have been practically powerless in the actual management of the city's affairs. There must be an independent, responsible head chosen by the people to rule a city ; otherwise there will surely be an irresponsible, unscrupulous boss arrogating power in defiance of the people's will.

The foregoing necessarily brief analysis of the municipal government of San Francisco is sufficiently long and strong to convince the most skeptical that a modern charter is imperative. No city in the Union needs a new organic law more than San Francisco. The foundation of this proposed charter should rest securely upon the following seven cardinal principles, the omission of any one of which would tend to vitiate the most successful administration of the municipality :

1. Home rule or self-government, that will enable the city to control and manage all of its municipal affairs.
2. Strict and impartial civil service rules and regulations, insuring appointment upon merit, promotion for efficiency and removal for good cause only.

3. Elimination of politics from municipal affairs by the entire separation of city elections and questions from State or national issues.

4. A sound and practical system of finance and revenue, based upon the most approved and economical methods of business.

5. Provisions for municipal ownership of public utilities and for the lease of other public franchises for limited periods upon favorable percentage returns to the municipality.

6. Minority as well as majority representation should be provided, whereby the entire electoral vote of the city shall be represented in just and fair proportions.

7. An executive head with adequate power to enforce the laws, and responsible to the people for the proper conduct and operation of the entire municipal government.

Under the constitution of California any city of over 3,500 inhabitants may frame a charter for its own government by electing a board of fifteen freeholders to prepare a charter for submission to the people. After ratification by the citizens of the city, the charter must be approved by a majority of the Legislature of the State to make it the organic law. Four times—namely, in 1880, 1883, 1887 and 1896—our citizens have endeavored to secure a city charter, but each instrument failed of ratification. Undaunted by these successive failures, our citizens have determined upon renewed efforts. This year another attempt will be made to give San Francisco a form of self-government suited to her growing requirements. Profiting by past experience and the valuable lessons taught by other modern communities, it is confidently expected that within two years the metropolis of the Pacific will at last join the ranks of the most progressive cities of the world.

It would be unjust to those who have unselfishly striven for the advancement of San Francisco, and unfair to the newly-born civic pride in the community, to conclude this short address without at least some slight recognition of the promis-

ing results of their work. Just three years ago forty-seven public-spirited merchants met together for the purpose of improving the then prevailing conditions in San Francisco. It was with no little uncertainty and misgiving that this handful of citizens voluntarily essayed the arduous task of municipal improvement. From this small nucleus arose the Merchants' Association, now comprising a regular membership of 865 leading business firms of San Francisco.

It would far exceed the limits of this address to recount the various achievements of the Merchants' Association in the progress of the city. A few examples will suffice to show the practical results of its work. To demonstrate that the streets of the city could be properly cleaned and kept clean the Merchants' Association added \$30,000 in voluntary subscriptions to the funds provided by the city, and undertook the street cleaning contract for eight months. This experiment proved so satisfactory that the system and specifications of this Association have been permanently adopted by the city authorities. Considering the many blocks of poor pavements among the one hundred and sixty miles of accepted thoroughfares, it is now conceded that in point of cleanliness the streets of San Francisco compare favorably with those of the leading cities of the Union.

Under the auspices of the Merchants' Association an object lesson in street lighting is now under way. Property owners and merchants have willingly subscribed over fourteen thousand dollars to make a practical experiment for six months in better street lighting. Two hundred and twenty-eight electric arc lights of 2,000 candle power are at present suspended at short intervals along the center of the main thoroughfares. Night has been literally turned into day; and this improvement has proved so desirable that the city authorities will undoubtedly soon make it a permanent feature of the metropolis.

Pavements that are suitable to the streets of many other cities may not fill the wants of San Francisco with her numerous hills and grades. Cobbles, basalt blocks, and bituminous rock

have had full sway upon our streets. Through the efforts of the Merchants' Association, asphalt, wood, and brick will soon be given an equal opportunity to be laid. The obsolete cobble is rapidly disappearing, except upon steep grades. Owners of property on accepted streets are at present actively co-operating with the city in securing better pavements. This progressive step bids fair to lead to the general repavement, wherever necessary, of all the streets of the city with the most approved modern paving materials.

An encouraging evidence of municipal enterprise may be cited in the present construction of a capacious crematory of the most improved pattern, that will burn effectively all the city's garbage and at the same time return to the municipality half a million dollars during the life of the franchise. Through the munificent bequest of a philanthropic merchant of San Francisco, \$425,000 will soon be devoted to the establishment of a practical school of industrial arts, where our boys may be taught "to earn a living with little study and plenty of work." The California School of Mechanical Arts, endowed by James Lick with \$540,000, already provides manual training for two hundred apprentices. The masterly achievements of the Union Iron Works of San Francisco in furnishing Uncle Sam with some of his fleetest and stanchest war ships will some day give full account of themselves. The people of San Francisco laid aside all thought of a festive carnival this year and generously contributed over \$27,000 to keep our unemployed at work upon a boulevard, one hundred feet wide, connecting with the suburbs and initiating an auspicious era of good roads radiating from this metropolis.

Although the recently proposed charter was lost at the last election, one of its most ardent advocates, the president of the Citizens' Charter Association, was elected mayor of the city and county of San Francisco for two years. Under his progressive administration the city is bound to take decided strides ahead.

At the last election two important amendments to the constitution of California were adopted that will tend to check legislative interference in municipal matters and enable cities through their charters to manage and control their own affairs.

Although the recent Legislature failed to provide a uniform civil service law, we are indebted to it for an excellent primary election system.

In conclusion, we may therefore confidently assure the members of the National Municipal League, and through you the people of the Republic, that, notwithstanding the handicap of an antiquated and defective organic law, the metropolis of the Pacific is on the broad highway of civic progress. The healthy growth of a city is seldom rapid or spasmodic. What is commonly known as a "boom" is unknown to the history of San Francisco; yet the average assessed valuation of property is next to the highest of any American city. Moreover, among all the larger cities in the Union, San Francisco is the only one free from any bonded indebtedness. In the wise use of this reserve power the future upbuilding of the city will find its full realization. Let us hope that in the near future, when the National Municipal League, which has fought so bravely for municipal betterment, shall hold its annual meeting and conference in the Queen City at the Golden Gate, the prophetic vision of Bishop Berkeley may be realized:

"Westward the course of empire takes its way ;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day ;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

MUNICIPAL VOTERS.*

CHARLES RICHARDSON,First Vice President of the National Municipal League.

Nothing in American politics has seemed more unaccountable and discouraging than the apparent stupidity of the voters in our large cities.

During the early years of the agitation for municipal reforms the apathy of the people was attributed to a lack of information, but this explanation can no longer be accepted as sufficient.

No facts could have been made plainer or more universally known than the prevalence of corruption, extravagance and incompetency in our city governments. Nothing could have been more clearly demonstrated than that these evils are due to the "spoils system" and to an excessive partisanship and neglect of public duties on the part of the citizens. The folly of intrusting the common assets of a great community to the "itching palms" of such a universally distrusted class as the professional politicians has been assailed with an unfailing stream of argument and denunciation from pulpit, press and platform. There has been no lack of clearness and earnestness in describing the demoralizing effect of municipal corruption upon private character, and the peril it involves for State and national governments. The immense moral and material advantages of an honest, intelligent, business-like management of local affairs, the mutual dependence and mutual obligations of fellow-citizens, the principle that a right to vote is necessarily a trust for

* During the year the Publication Committee issued as syndicate articles for publication in the leading papers in the country a series of articles dealing with various topics of special interest connected with certain phases of the municipal problem. Two of these being of permanent value—one by Vice President Richardson, on "Municipal Voters," and one by Vice President Strong, on "Municipal Reform and the Churches"—it has been thought advisable to include them in this volume.—ED.

others at well as a personal privilege, and the truth that a man who fails to vote for the common good is a social criminal, have all been urged with a force and diligence which could hardly be surpassed.

But notwithstanding all these efforts the masses have seldom wavered in their support of bad men and bad methods, and with few and transient exceptions they have seemed to be as little affected by the arguments and appeals of reformers as a herd of browsing cattle would have been by the reasoning of Socrates or the eloquence of Cicero.

Under these circumstances it seems natural that the advocates of reform should ascribe their failures to the stupidity of the average voter, and conclude that their final success can only be attained through the better education of generations yet unborn.

A more careful analysis will lead to the entirely different conclusion that the voters have had some very plausible reasons for the course they have pursued, and that reformers instead of being surprised at the slowness of their progress should be encouraged by the gains which it has been possible to make under such adverse conditions.

In order to understand the motives of the voters we must remember that they are composed of two classes—those who are, and those who are not, the owners of property subject to municipal taxation.

For convenience we may speak of them as taxpayers and non-taxpayers, although, of course, directly or indirectly, all residents, whether they know it or not, are more or less affected by the local taxation. We should also remember that the taxpayers are only a small minority of the voters, and that arguments which appeal solely to the former can have but little influence on the results of elections.

The proportions are doubtless materially different in different cities, and it is difficult to obtain reliable figures, but official statistics compiled in Boston show that in that city six-sevenths of the municipal voters must be classed among the non-taxpayers.

Taking first the comparatively insignificant minority composed of taxpayers, we find that their principal reasons for not assuming an active part in the nomination and support of reform candidates may be stated briefly as follows :

1. Because they fear that their opposition to influential politicians may be punished by an increase in their assessments for taxation, or by a loss of custom or employment, or some other action injurious to their personal or business interests.

2. Because as investors, employes, or otherwise, they have or hope to have some pecuniary interests in corporations, contracts or offices, which would be much less profitable under a government too pure to be corrupted, and too intelligent to be outwitted.

3. Because they believe that it pays better in dollars and cents to submit to existing abuses than to expend the time and money required for a long and difficult series of political contests.

4. Because they consider that national legislation affects their personal interests far more than any probable action of their local government, and that their national party must therefore be supported in its efforts to strengthen itself by securing complete control of local affairs.

5. Because they believe the local machine of the opposition party is still worse than their own, and that to promote its success by wasting their votes on a third ticket would only be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

6. Because they have no faith in the possibility of subjecting politics to the principles of common honesty, or public affairs to the methods of intelligent business.

This list is not complete, but it is sufficiently formidable to show that the progress of reform principles among the taxpayers must continue to be slow and difficult, unless city government can be made to appear much more important and interesting than it has hitherto seemed to be.

The difficulties which the reformer has to contend with when he is dealing with the taxpayers are certainly great, but those which he is obliged to meet when he appeals to the main body of the voters are much greater. This is partly because he has several times as many people to reach, and partly because those whom he seeks to convince are so situated that many of his best arguments can make but little if any impression, while those of his opponents are eagerly accepted. It is easy to see that although most of the reasons which prevent taxpayers from supporting reform movements have an equal or greater weight with non-taxpayers, the latter have no such mo-

tives as the former for opposing the corrupt or wasteful expenditure of public funds. The assessor has no terrors for the man who has no property to be taxed. He can view with resignation, if not with pleasure, the increasing burdens of those who are better off than himself. He can look with favor upon the doing of unnecessary or badly-managed work, the multiplication of useless offices, the squandering of valuable franchises, and the payment of extravagant salaries, because all these may be plausibly regarded as increasing the chances of employment for the wage-earners, and especially for those who do not oppose them. The man who has no pecuniary interests to protect is easily persuaded to look upon his vote in local elections as nothing more than a means for securing a promise of work, a transient favor, or the gratitude of a friend.

There would be little if any exaggeration in saying that in this country municipal government, with all its control of immense revenues and wealth-producing franchises, is based upon the votes of those who have no feeling of personal or pecuniary interest in making it either wise or honest.

It would be difficult to imagine conditions more favorable for political banditti, or more tempting to unscrupulous contractors and monopolists. The indifference of the voter is the opportunity of the rogue, and the reformer's cry of "stop thief" can have but little effect when the masses do nothing but laugh or applaud the criminal.

Under our system of manhood suffrage there can be no security for public assets or certainty of decent government until the majority of the voters are given a much larger and more direct and tangible interest in the results.

The scope of our local governments must be so enlarged that they will affect the average voter as constantly and in as many ways as possible, and thus cause him to regard himself as an active and deeply interested partner in the proper conduct of public business. The reasons for advocating such a policy in order to influence the taxpayers are sufficiently strong, but the arguments for resorting to it in dealing with the non-taxpayers are as much stronger, as the latter are at once more numerous, more important and more difficult to reach in any other way. It follows, therefore, that reformers should take every opportunity to urge the extension of municipal

functions to all such matters as supply of light, water, street transportation, etc.

There are many economic and other arguments in favor of this policy, and some excellent examples of its success in Glasgow and other cities, but they cannot be discussed within the limits of this article.

The principal objections that have been made to the proposed policy are that it is too much like socialism, and that every addition to municipal business will lead to an increase of corruption, and strengthen the political machines and the spoils system. In order to show the fallacy of these objections it may be suggested that if they were sound a great deal of work that is now being performed by local, State and national governments, including that of the United States Post Office, and the street-cleaning department of New York, should be abandoned, and turned over to private contractors or special corporations as soon as possible. It may also be urged, as previously argued, that, under our form of majority rule, the only way to secure the right kind of government is to give it so much business that the non-taxpayers will perceive and suffer from its defects, and will be sufficiently interested to insist upon their cure. The progress of civil service reform in the United States service is an illustration of the working of this principle.

It may be added in conclusion that as there can be no bribe without a briber, it is obvious that there can be no better way to check municipal corruption than to get rid of the contractors and corporations to whom most of it is due.

A brief study of the relations of some of the street railway companies with city politics and city authorities would be likely to remove any doubt that might arise in this connection.

MUNICIPAL REFORM AND THE CHURCHES.

THOMAS N. STRONG,

Third Vice President, National Municipal League, and President of the Municipal League of Portland, Oregon.

No intelligent person denies the necessity of a reformation of our municipal government ; even those who profit by the prevailing maladministration and corruption now render lip service to the cause. A lip service that grows clamorous before election, ceases entirely with the victorious party, and ends with a wail of the defeated as soon as the official count is announced and thereafter is heard no more until an opportunity comes around "to turn the rascals out."

Here and there, however, are individuals or little groups of intelligent men and women who recognize the grave necessities of the case and they disinterestedly plead for better methods and for a purer administration of city affairs. There is apparently no open resistance. The politician lends an attentive ear and makes no open objection. Many newspapers give their support and only very rarely does open opposition manifest itself. Having apparently convinced all men, who have anything to think with, of the justice of the demand, why does not this conviction work out in practice and more materially affect the machinery of municipal administration? There is, it is true, a lack of pecuniary or personal interest in city affairs in many of the voters, and this personal interest might well be increased and quickened as suggested, in Mr. Charles Richardson's article, by urging the "extension of municipal functions to all such matters as the supply of light, water, street transportation, etc."

This might be an important step in advance, but suppose this personal interest should be quickened and brought into existence, is there not something more necessary? Local experience in Portland, Oregon, has been that boards of our best citizens selected and

appointed as public-spirited and disinterested men and tax-payers, for the carrying on of work in which every one was directly interested, have perhaps as often as our elected Common Council betrayed the interests of the city and used the powers given to them, not for the public good, but for selfish interests ; and this, with rare exceptions, is the common experience of cities with legislative boards and commissioners. However much the voters may be interested in selecting proper officials, can they guard against this abuse of power? Can they in any way compel their officers to do their duty? By a single deal the large tax-payers on the municipal board or committee can make directly or indirectly more money than the increase in their taxes so brought about would amount to in fifty years, and hence on such boards the pecuniary and personal interest of its members not only utterly fails to act as a check upon extravagance and corruption, but only promotes it, while the public, however keen its interest in the work may be, cannot put intelligence and honesty into its servants ; and only very rarely can discover, expose or punish its guilty officers. Is, then, the case hopeless? Or can we bring into play some other agency or power commensurate with the evil sought to be removed? The public has accepted and now largely accepts three separate standards of morality—the religious, the business and the political ; and strangely enough a man can preserve public respect so long as he conforms to the popularly accepted standard in the proper place. Two entire and generally accepted rules of conduct are bound up in the statement that “business is business” and in the expression “practical politics.” The business man would be dishonored if he should bring into his own business the maxims and practices that generally prevail in politics, and the same man will do that in politics which he would scorn to do in business. Largely as the heritage of our great Civil War, where, under the stern compulsion of national necessity, men were taught to give up everything for success—even life itself—has grown up a tradition of politics that “success is everything,” which overlays and hides from sight in public affairs the eternal verities of truth and honor.

In early days the miners of the Pacific slope, recognizing the presence of gold beneath the great deposits of ancient rivers, were much puzzled to get at it, and thus in material matters had

presented to them very much the same problem that is now presented to us. They solved it in a very simple way. From mountain lakes and running streams they gathered the idly-stored and running waters, and under hundreds of feet of pressure, through the great hydraulic pipes, gave it impulse and direction, destroyed the overlaying deposits and brought the gold to light.

In some such way we must bring to bear upon these corrupt political traditions and maxims of public conduct some power by which they may be destroyed and removed, so that men may see the truth, and seeing it may establish new political standards to which all men must in some degree conform. In England a Gladstone or a Rosebery may be a scholar and a gentleman, may and can write theological or scientific treatises, may hold to old-fashioned ideas of honesty, sincerity and right living, and yet in no way discredit his character as a practical politician. In this country politicians who would have a good deal of trouble in dealing with with any of the sciences beyond the elementary principles of addition, subtraction and division, and whose followers are held to them only by the cohesion of a corrupt self interest, arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of "practical politician." England honors its literary and statesmanlike type of politicians, while in America there has been developed a great deal of unreasoning admiration for the ward politician, who, in common parlance, "gets there," by fair means or by foul, and there has also been developed an impression, which largely possesses the public mind, that to be successful as a politician it is not only necessary but right to be corrupt and dishonest, and that even upon these terms the "game is worth the candle."

Beneath all of its symptoms and manifestations the disease is a moral one and must be met with moral remedies. The ideals of individual men and women must be bettered, that the national ideals may also be raised and purified. Is there any organization in this country that can undertake the great task? Only one has the power. Every church organization in the United States, whatever its nationality or denomination, is a professed believer in the abstract proposition "That righteousness exalteth a nation." The church membership and following is sufficiently numerous to impose its united will upon any political or municipal party in any city of

the United States. It could, if united and determined, set up a political or a municipal ideal and compel politicians of every party to conform to it, and could so establish that ideal that all men would in municipal affairs live up to it. Like the lakes and the rivers of the Pacific slope, the power is there, beautiful to look upon, full of blessing to the earth, and yet, from want of concentration, direction and impulse, largely unused in the practical affairs of men. The power existing and being adequate, it becomes a very practical problem of sociological engineering to determine how these reservoirs of moral power shall be brought to bear upon corrupt political traditions and ideals.

In the first place, there is a churchly tradition coming down from the dark ages that the priest and minister must not concern himself too much with earthly affairs. This must be worn or cut away, and the priest and minister, ceasing to be of that fabled third sex, must become a man of affairs and of the world. He must place himself under his share of the political burden, and as a teacher of the truth must speak fearlessly and apply the truth to modern conditions and necessities.

In the second place, the instinct of self-preservation in the churches, now altogether too intense, must give way to a righteous wrath against political evil. Minister, priest and church, in the march of present events, must necessarily become less self-centered and selfish, and must expect, if need be, to be wasted and worn for other purposes than that of the upbuilding and aggrandizement of the church itself.

It is in the nature of power to manifest itself. A Friedrich Wilhelm may accumulate and train the battalions, safely preserving them from war and damage, but after him shall inevitably come a Frederick the Great, who shall use them in some mighty warfare. The power of the church must inevitably be used, and the disinclination of the church to go out of old paths into the practical world must in some way be overcome.

In the third place, the church in political matters is too lethargic. It must be made to understand how far short it has come of doing its full duty in political and municipal matters. In medieval times it went too far as an organization in controlling governmental affairs. The natural reaction from this expressed in

the political maxim of total separation of church and state has, in more recent times, carried it to the other extreme. As suggested before, the church has a differens standard of morals from either the merchant or the politician, and with this anomalous condition of the three existing moral standards the church is too well contented. The political standard sanctions bribery, corruption, theft and violence so long as they prevail, and holds him a successful politician who so adroitly practices them as to keep out of the penitentiary and carry the day, and the church, in practice as a whole, really holds the same view, and makes no warfare upon their influential pew-holders who govern their public lives by such low maxims. Recognizing this false standard to be in existence, recognizing its baleful influence, recognizing it to be one of the great strongholds of evil, the church is withheld by man-made barriers from attacking it with full power. The priest, the minister and the church, except in rare instances, ostentatiously wash their hands of the whole matter, declare that they have nothing to do with politics, nothing to do with its baleful resuls or its destruction of all that is good and true, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person, see ye to it."

These three barriers about the church itself are in the way of its use in the betterment of our municipal conditions. That the reformation of our municipalities will be brought about, whatever happens, is almost inevitable, for it is an economic, moral and political necessity, but it is certainly good engineering to control these great reservoirs of moral power and to so use them as to bring back, in some slight measure at least, the Kingdom of God among men. Nor are there wanting very plain signs that the church is awakening to its mission. In the movements of the last fifty years no modern sociological tendency is more marked than that which has been going on within the churches, tending to withdraw them from merely theoretical into practical Christianity. There has been everywhere a wearing down of the barriers between the church and the world, and both have been gainers by the process. In every city priests and ministers of the Gospel have awakened to the truth that they are not monks, but living men, and the cause of municipal reform ranks amongst its foremost champions many ministers who have braved old traditions and prejudices to strike a

blow at the evil conditions that control so many of our American cities. The modern church membership is alive to the new issues, and, in their prayer and other meetings, subjects are being discussed looking to the reformation of social, political and economical conditions that, twenty years ago, would not even have been spoken of within the sacred inclosure. The Christian Endeavor Societies are taking up the subject, and good citizenship meetings are now common.

In this city of Portland, Oregon, before its last municipal election, a series of good citizenship meetings were held in the different churches, and immediately before the election the ministers all joined their congregations in one great meeting for the discussion of the same subject. The effect of these meetings was plainly observable in the increased purity of the election itself and in the votes lost to "ring" candidates. Veteran politicians recognized the fact that a new factor in political methods was to be dealt with. Before this it was only necessary to satisfy the liquor dealers and this and that organization which had the wit to stand together for its demands. The good people could be trusted to divide themselves on the old political lines. Now the politician stood face to face with a new organization—composed of honest and determined voters—which demanded honesty and economy, and was prepared to so vote as in its judgment would best enforce its demands. The power long stored on the high hills was making itself felt, not so much in political battle as in the destruction of false standards and in the creation of new political ideals. When the American public desires better municipal government it will have it. When it really demands honesty and economy in the management of its cities, honest and economical service will come at its call. It needs only to become itself more aggressively honest and economical, more pure and high in its political ideals, and the fact shall be as it desires. Amongst all human organizations that control the consciences of men the church stands pre-eminent. Its educational and moral influence is far reaching, its organization is superb. Let the sacred duty of municipal reform take possession of the church, then let the church apply its high standards to the low and debased views that now control our political and municipal affairs, let it teach and show to the world and to its own membership the necessity

and the duty of political and public activity, for in this way will the church be reformed in its practices and the citizens in their ideals of public virtue and public duty.

Important as the church is in the affairs of this world, it cannot afford to fall behind in the world's procession. The forum, the press, the college and the school are, irrespective of the church, educating men to higher ideals, and if once the public becomes impressed with the idea that the expressed churchly ideals are but idle forms of words to salve the consciences of men, withal, in that day the influence of the church is ended.

There is in America to-day an intense determination to raise the public service to a higher plane. It has shown itself in the long struggle, now coming to a happy conclusion, for the adoption of civil service reform. It is manifest in numberless organizations for municipal reform, in law and order leagues and in other committees for reform. In every city there are organizations and individuals engaged in the task. It is not to be expected that success will be sudden or complete. The foundation of the new order of things must rest on the conscience of the people, and, as that conscience is sound or unsound, must depend the stability of the whole reform structure. It is impossible that the public service, especially in our cities, should long remain at its present low level, for it is manifestly below the level of the public demand, but it is equally impossible that it should be long maintained above the level of the public demand. It behooves individuals, it behooves the college, the school and the church, to enlighten and quicken the public conscience and this public demand, and it behooves every man to influence to his utmost every organization to which he belongs to do its full duty in this regard.

BANQUET SPEECHES.

Galt House, Louisville, Ky., Friday, May 7, 1897, 9 P. M.

After the menu had been disposed of, Mr. Frank N. Hartwell, President of the Good City Government Club of Louisville, acting as Toastmaster, said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : The Committee on Arrangements recognizing the importance of having a gunner to fire off some of the big guns who have come to this Conference of the National Municipal League, with a willingness bordering on generosity, and wishing that some one other than themselves had been assigned to that responsible position, have assigned that duty to me. I take heart from the fact that my position is one of divided responsibility to the extent that if you can stand the force of the concussion, I will take my chances with the rebound.

We have with us to-night gentlemen from various parts of the country deeply interested in the question of municipal reform, not theorists entirely, but many of them having had practical experience with practical politics. They have come and met with us to lend their word of encouragement and advice to those interested along the same lines of work. I have at my right a gentleman known throughout this whole land, a man who, on account of his convictions, was deprived of one of the greatest honors that can come to a citizen of the United States, a gentleman who has left important duties at home and is sacrificing valuable time in order that he may be with us. I consider it a personal compliment that Mr. Hornblower, out of deference to our wishes, has remained over with us to-night. I therefore take unusual pleasure in introducing to you, or rather presenting to you again, Mr. William B. Hornblower, of New York, who will speak to you upon "The Necessity for Civic Pride."

MR. HORNBLOWER : *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :* I appreciate most keenly the very complimentary remarks of your Chairman and the very cordial reception that I have had at your hands, and I am sure I voice the sentiment of all the delegates to this Conference when I say that our visit to Louisville has been, if possible, more enjoyable than we had anticipated. You of Louisville have had a difficult task before you—the task of living up to a reputation, to the national reputation which you have acquired for genial and unstinted hospitality. I am sure we all

agree that you have more than lived up to it, and that we shall take with us to our various homes the most delightful remembrances of our visit to your beautiful city. There is something about the very name of Kentucky that appeals to the heart of every American. The sturdy heroism of your early settlers who crossed the Alleghenies and carried civilization into this, the then frontier of the United States, among hostile Indians, is a household tale familiar to all our children. Your people combine more than the people of any other State the most striking characteristics of Americanism. You form a sort of composite picture of American traits of character. We sometimes picture you as the rough-and-ready type of the American citizen. We sometimes unjustly think of your State as the chosen home of the revolver and Bourbon whisky. I believe it was in one of your rural counties that a judge was asked to charge a jury that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer. The judge, in response to the request, said : "Gentlemen of the jury, I am asked by the prisoner's counsel to charge you that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer. Gentlemen of the jury, I charge you that that is the law, but I further charge you that in the opinion of the court the ninety-nine guilty men have already escaped in this county." (Applause).

But if we know you as the rough-and-ready type of the American citizen, we also know your State—I hesitate to repeat it, for you have heard it so often from every one who has come here—as the home of beautiful women, chivalrous men and magnificent horses. Standing as you do at the frontier between the North and the South, it is your peculiar good fortune to combine the virtues of both sections—Northern thrift and enterprise ; Southern warmth, hospitality and courtesy.

I need not remind you that in the great war you were called upon to pour forth your best blood on both sides of that terrible conflict. It was bad for us in the North, and it was terrible enough for those in the farther South to send their brightest and most promising young men to fight the battles of their respective sides ; but what a terrible thing in Kentucky, where house was divided against house and brother against brother. You not only spilled your best blood on both sides of that great controversy, but when the war was over you set the example to the rest of the country of fraternity and reconciliation. The history of this country with Kentucky left out would be robbed of many of its choicest memories. The people of this country with Kentucky left out would be robbed of some of its choicest constituents.

But, ladies and gentlemen, though the subject assigned to me to-night is one more particularly bearing upon the question of municipal reform, I

could not refrain from these personal words, because, I assure you, they come from my heart. But I am also expected to use my comprehension, or what little of it I have left after having endeavored to digest and assimilate all those facts and principles with which we have been saturated and deluged during the last two or three days, in the consideration of this question of "Necessity for Civic Pride."

This is a subject that appeals to me. I have made it more than once a topic for discussion before our New York audiences, because it is *the* great difficulty that we in New York are called upon to encounter in this whole municipal movement—the absence of civic pride among the people. We in New York are a set of immigrants, foreign and domestic. Of course you have all heard—it has been repeated so often that it is familiar to everyone—that there are more Germans in New York than in Berlin, more Irish than in Dublin, and more Italians than in Rome. And they bring to our shores their love of their native land. They bring no love for New York; they have no sentiment for our city. It is a place to live in, a place in which to make money, a place to save money in, a place to die in, a place for their children to live in after them; but of sentiment they have none for New York. Their sentiment goes back to Germany, to Ireland, to Italy, to Switzerland, or wherever they come from.

Our cosmopolitan city, therefore, has peculiar difficulties to contend with. This is manifested in every direction. I remember being told a year or two ago a story about a police court justice under the old regime. One of the good results of our reform movement in New York is that we have secured good police courts. This story was told me by a man who claimed to be present on the occasion. He was a prominent Tammany man. He said an Irishman was brought up before the police court, and he went up to the judge and said, "Judge, Mike Sullivan is going to be up before your Honor this morning, and he is a friend of your Honor's and a friend of mine, and he worked for us at the last election, and I want your Honor to look after him." This fellow was the boss of the district. The judge said, "What is the matter with Mike?" He said, "Mike got into a scrap last night with an Italian, and I want you to look out for him." The judge said, "I guess six months will be all right." "What, six months for Mike?" "No," said the judge; "six months for the Italian, not six months for Mike." "But," responded the other one, "the Italian is dead!"

Not only are we thus a cosmopolitan city of foreigners, but we are a city of domestic immigrants. In any gathering of professional or business men in New York—I care not what it is—in any gathering of lawyers, doctors, ministers or merchants there is not one man in ten who was born

in New York City. That is a very significant fact, and one we have to meet and deal with. I was much struck with the remarks made by my friend Mr. Cassat yesterday on that subject in the paper which he read before you, in which he said that one of the great difficulties that we have to contend with in our municipal matters is that the average man has no affection for his city. The average American lavishes all his affection on his country and his flag. That appeals to him always and everywhere, under all circumstances. Even the foreign immigrant soon catches the contagion and learns to love the flag and the country; but the city is simply the workshop.

Now this is peculiarly so in New York, even more so than in the cities of the West, for in the West, especially among the newer cities, such as Minneapolis and Chicago, the citizens may at least feel that they have made the city, and they take a pride in it as their own handiwork. We in New York cannot feel that. We know that we did not make New York; we know that New York grew in spite of all that we could do to keep it back. The forces of nature were working for it, the whole energies of this country were working for it, and whether we would or not, New York was made the greatest city of the Continent. New Yorkers are gathered from every State of the Union, and, as I have said, we look upon New York as the great workshop where we have our life work to do, where we may obtain wealth, where we may obtain fame, where we may obtain our share of this world's happiness. But the idea of affection for New York seems absurd, almost too absurd to discuss at a public meeting in New York. In our moments of sentiment our hearts go back to the country village of our childhood; but if, as in my case, we are so unfortunate as to have been born in a busy, bustling, thriving American manufacturing city, where old landmarks are ruthlessly swept aside by the march of time and where stores and factories replace the homes of our childhood, then our local affection clusters about the school or the college where our happy youth was passed. In my case the home of my childhood is the site of a most unsentimental brick store, and my heart finds refuge from the cares of the busy world in that beautiful college town where the academic towers and spires of old Princeton nestle among the grand old elms of that lovely New Jersey hillside, whose memories linger forever in the heart of every Princeton man. But we cannot feel any sentiment about New York. What sentiment can there be about brick and stone and asphalt and these great sky-scraping buildings, or even about Central Park? We cannot feel very much pathos about that nor get up much poetry on the subject, and even the native New Yorkers—and there are some of them—cannot really be in love with Murray street

or Bleecker street because they happen to have been born there or because it is the site of the home of their ancestors, nor can they get up any great amount of enthusiasm over the site of former market gardens. There is something so essentially businesslike about New York ; there is something so dramatically crushing about the onward advance of a great city, sweeping aside everything that even appeals to sentiment, that the native New Yorker cannot get up any enthusiasm on the subject of New York or any great amount of civic pride.

Columbia College is doing something toward arousing civic pride. It is furnishing something to appeal to the sentiment of New Yorkers by its beautiful buildings on Morningside Heights. It stands between Riverside and Grant's Tomb and the Hudson River. It is putting up a magnificent academy building which will appeal to the sentiment of New Yorkers, and we shall begin to feel when we look at it that there is something in New York to live for besides money, that we have something there besides our offices, counting-houses and workshops. I rejoice to see these buildings going up, and I trust it will result in giving us some sentiment for New York City, something in which we can feel a civic pride.

All of this seems unfortunate to you who have not the experience as we have had in New York. But those of us who have had to stand and fight the battles in New York against the forces of corruption know that we do lack that refreshing sentiment. We have lacked that force of civic pride which is necessary to arouse enthusiasm. Occasionally we have revolted, we have gotten the people to rebel against tyranny and corruption, but it has been by an appeal to their common sense, not to their personal pride as citizens ; it has been by appeal to their interests and the interests of their wives and children, but never by any appeal to civic pride. It was not because they were proud of New York or because they had any affection for New York. It was simply by appealing to the lower and higher selfish interests, the lower selfish interests represented by the pocket-book and the higher selfish interests represented by the welfare of their families and the welfare of the community in which they live.

Now, as I have had occasion to say before, I regret what I consider this monstrous crime against New York for consolidation with the outlying districts. One of the principal reasons why I regret it is because it is a blow at civic pride. Of course we can be proud of having the biggest city in the United States and the second biggest city in the world, but what sort of pride is that ? It is the pride of the elephant because he is big and strong, but what is it compared with the pride of your Kentucky thoroughbred horse ? New York City is a great big conglomeration of heterogeneous communities. We have stricken a blow at the growing

civic pride of our city, and we have ruthlessly slaughtered the civic pride of our sister city of Brooklyn. I consider that one of the most cruel things of this century. Brooklyn did not ask to be taken into New York. There was the barest majority of votes for the movement, and the best element of Brooklyn was against it. They had true civic pride in Brooklyn; they really loved it. It represented sentiment to them. They were a community by themselves, and they succeeded time and time again in throwing off the yoke of corruption and in asserting themselves and establishing pure government among themselves. We have killed that and we have dragged them into the clutches of a big elephant. Some people think it is best for them because they think they are going to get most of the nourishment—I mean the pecuniary nourishment; but if they do get it they get it at the sacrifice of all their civic pride.

Now I want to refer to just one thing in the new charter. There is a provision in it, which is regarded as monstrous by everyone, by which our police board, charged with the highest and most delicate functions of public government, which is charged not only with the safety of the community but with its morals, is divided arbitrarily between the two political parties in order that they may dicker with each other and the bosses who control the respective parties at the expense of the people whose interests they are supposed to protect. I have heretofore said on one or more occasions that the bi-partisan police board in my judgment simply means a board which both parties can buy. It is a monstrosity. We have it in this new charter, but we must get rid of it.

In conclusion, it is very fortunate for me that I precede my distinguished sister from Denver and that, therefore, what I have said can stand on its own merits and not be compared with what she shall say. But I shall not detain you longer from your pleasant anticipation of hearing from our sister from Denver, who admits that she is something of a boss herself and knows something about practical politics, which I do not. I am not a politician and know nothing about practical politics, but I want to say this personal word to you before I sit down, and that is that you of Louisville have what the people of New York have not. You have that lever if you choose to use it—you have civic pride, and you have a right to it. You are a set of men and women native-born to the soil, whose ancestors were native-born to the soil. This city is to you a city dear to your hearts by every tie of tradition and sentiment. You do not need to be stirred to an affection for your native city. You are born with it and grow up with it, and it becomes stronger every year of your life. May I, on behalf of the National Municipal League, as we are about to part with you after this most delightful occasion—may I on our behalf urge upon you that

you make use of this lever which Providence has given you and that you shall bring to bear this civic pride in the bringing about of good government. I do not mean to say that you have not got it now, because as a stranger it would not be proper for me to express an opinion about it; but even if you have good government, as I hope you have, you can have better, and I most sincerely urge upon you that you take advantage of your lever, that you may elevate Louisville to higher and better things. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: I have always believed that ladies, like gentlemen, should enjoy such occasions as we have presented to us to-night, but never did I dream that when I should see a realization of my hope that I would have elbowed near me a woman voter. I wish to say that we have tried her in all particulars, we have had her break bread with us, we have had her come alone in the midst of a number of male delegates to the National Municipal League. She has quietly, modestly and unassumingly taken her place by the single force of her personality, and she has won to herself, if not to her cause, every delegate to the National Municipal League, and I have taken a special pleasure in placing her next me in a position of honor that I might show to this assembly that as an individual and as a male voter I have no fears of such women voting. I have pleasure in presenting to you Mrs. Frank W. Hall, of Denver, a veritable woman voter, a practical politician, and one from whom we may learn a vast deal that is useful.

MRS. HALL: *Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen and Ladies*: I must confess to you that when I found myself in a position so unique I was frightened, and very much in the position of an army officer who said he did not believe there was any such thing as courage. It was all a matter of fear in one form or another. He said that one of our most distinguished soldiers and officers told him that the first time he went into battle he was sitting on his horse in line for advancing, the drums beating and his heart thumping louder than the drums; just then a little rabbit scurried across the field, taking shelter in the underbrush beyond. The officer, longing to follow, said, "Go it, cottontail; I would go too if I had no more at stake than you have." Now, I have felt the force of that illustration several times since coming here, in spite of the extreme courtesy and consideration I have received on all sides. But realizing that I am representing the women who are enfranchised and those who wish to be, it was necessary for me to stand by my colors, although I did not come here to make plea for universal suffrage. I never thought of it, but to get light on certain problems which we are facing, I am much more interested in how to remedy certain evils in our local government—how our nominations shall

be made, what kind of a charter is best, how many of the utilities shall be owned by the city, how our franchises shall best be disposed of, and what the connection between the Legislature and the city should be in the matter of suffrage, either restricted or unrestricted. However, I am glad to have an opportunity to tell you just a little of what has come from universal suffrage in Colorado. The practical work of women in politics is in its infancy so far as the United States is concerned, for, while the women of Wyoming have had the ballot for twelve or fourteen years, they have had no large issues to face or problems to solve such as confront the suffragists of a larger Commonwealth. You ask me do the women vote. I can answer that decidedly—yes. Old ladies, young ladies, domestics and club women. You could no more keep my mother from going to the polls than from going to church. A young lady looks forward to her first vote with the same pride and anticipation that any of you did, with just the same eagerness not to lose it and as though that vote would decide the result of the election. I must add that with the advent of women at the polls the saloon and gambling element ceased to be a factor and ceased to be feared in elections. You can readily understand how that might be; even the wives and daughters of men engaged in those pursuits need not necessarily approve of the calling, and all women in the abstract favor law and order and a quiet Sabbath; so in fact you double the better vote and leave unchanged the other vote. Someone said to me to-day: "But the women will get tired of it." How many times in your life have you known women to fail in their duty—any oftener than men? To me the camaraderie that has grown up between men and women from the bond of a common interest is perhaps the choicest and most enjoyable feature. We have no fear of the consequences expressed by a gentleman at a dinner soon after our enfranchisement: "Here is to the women, once our superiors, now our equals." And now let me give you all a cordial invitation to Colorado next summer to the National Federation of Women's Clubs, and, we hope, the meeting of the National Municipal League. There we will show you the woman voter in all her glory, backed by the everlasting snow-clad hills of the Rocky Mountains. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: We all believe that women are a success. In this case we have the evidence of a successful woman voter.

I had the pleasure of listening to a lecture once by the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn, and in that lecture he referred to an old gentlemen, eighty years of age, whom he had met in the mountains of the West, who was an indefatigable sightseer, up early and late, and he said to him one day, after witnessing his climbing of a mountain, "Why are you, at your time of life, undergoing this hardship?" And he replied, "I will tell you,

my friend. All my life I was a priest in one of the cantons of Switzerland and never left my humble home. One night I had a dream. I thought I died and went to heaven ; and I went to St. Peter and to my surprise he did not open the door. I said to him, 'What is the matter? Have I not discharged my duty, have I not led an upright life?' Peter said, 'Your upright life is all right, but we have no room here for a man who has blinded his eyes to all the beauties God has placed on earth. You go back to earth, and when you learn to appreciate what God has given you there it is time enough for you to come knocking for admission here.'" And he began to think, and the longer he thought the more he was convinced that there was something in the dream, and he began to make arrangements to leave the little canton and see whether Peter knew more about the world than he did, and ever since that time he has journeyed from one end of the world to the other trying to learn and appreciate the beauties of this world.

There are duties devolving upon the individual in every community in which he is placed, and we will have the pleasure now of hearing from the Rev. Dr. Hamilton in regard to "The Duty of Every Citizen of Louisville."

DR. HAMILTON: *Ladies and Gentlemen*: I should thank St. Peter very much if he could have delivered me from the necessity of making this talk here to-night. I am only a preacher, unacquainted with practical politics and working politicians ; not an expert in municipal reform, though deeply interested in it, and I can only speak to you from the minister's point of view. I esteem it a great honor to be asked to speak in the presence of the National Municipal League, and I rejoice that Louisville has enjoyed the opportunity of entertaining gentlemen who have given so much thought and study and practical efforts to the subject of the reform of city government, the most vital subject with which Americans to-day have to deal. The papers and addresses to which we have listened, the reports which we have read in the papers, have furnished us with food for thought for many a day.

An Atlanta paper I saw the other day contained a copy of an epitaph which was seen in a rural district in Georgia. It ran something like this :

"He kept a grocery in the woods,
Until by death surprised.
His patrons always found his goods
Just as he advertised."

I do not mean to write an epitaph for this worthy society, but I am bound to say that while great expectations were excited by the announcement of their coming to our city, those expectations have been more than

realized. We have found the goods even better than advertised. (Applause).

Each man, if he is to make the most and best of himself, must have an ideal manhood which he sets before himself and towards which he ever tries to climb; and in this work of municipal reform we must have a civic ideal to stimulate our efforts. What is the true civic ideal? No one can find a better answer than in the words of the old Greek philosopher Aristotle, who was also a real prophet. "The city," said he, "is a union or brotherhood of equal men, not gathered by fear or force, but animated by a single aim to live the noblest life of which men are capable. It exists not for the sake of life but of good life, which is the end of man."

Now those are noble words. They tell us that the city is not so many acres of streets covered with so many thousands of houses, that it is not to be regarded as a centre for railroads and for the collecting and distributing of the world's products, but, over and beyond that, that it is to be regarded as a living organism, made up, indeed, of separate individuals, but capable of a united life, of a oneness of purpose and spirit, of a common enthusiasm and of co-operated action which will increase the sum of happiness for each citizen. A city lives not by nor for bread alone. It has spiritual functions as well as material. It must educate, uplift, refine and promote the comfort and well-being of its people through the administration of justice, through schools, through museums, libraries, charities, public festivities, and not least, its churches. I believe the first duty of every citizen is to accept a civic ideal for himself and then feel responsible for contributing his share towards making his city a place where good government and comfortable life is possible for his neighbors.

I have not the honor of being a native of the city of Louisville, but I have been living here six years and am interested intensely in everything that concerns its welfare. I lived and worked for eighteen years in New York City, and I still cherish a deep affection for that wonderful place. Every man ought to identify himself with the town in which his home for the time being may be.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are a few principles that underlie true civic well-being, and it is the duty of all right-thinking citizens to take measures for the practical enforcement of these in municipal life and government. The first is justice. Is there justice in all our American cities? Are the rents of the dwellings of our poor always just? Are the houses in which they live and the streets in which those houses stand always sanitary? Can we point to these conditions and say that righteousness and our conscience are satisfied?

The greatest of all teachers distinctly declared, and the civic con-

science of to-day endorses His words, that individuals, communities and states alike thrive or decay according to the way in which they treat the hungry, the naked, the poor, and the criminal—the classes that most need kindness, patient discipline and healing skill. In all our cities much is being done in this helpful direction by the citizens ; but what room for more improvement !

To justice and mercy must be added the ministry of beauty. Gladstone says the Greek, at least the Attic Greek, were a people whose lives were enriched by what was done to gratify their love of the beautiful. In every modern city there are thousands who pursue their course of dreary and monotonous toil year in and year out. Ought not all right-thinking citizens co-operate in efforts to make the street sightly, to open parks and picture galleries, and to increase all the influences that tend to refine and elevate and sweeten the lives of the masses ? Order combined with perfect individual freedom is also essential to the true welfare of the city. The charter, the constitution, and the laws that regulate and control the municipal life in every city—every right-thinking citizen accepts these as the civic conscience, and it should be the duty of every citizen to render glad obedience to law. How delightfully the city would be broadened if all the citizens would be determined that municipal government should be permeated by these elements of justice, mercy, beauty and obedience to law unhampered by needless and irritating restrictions !

Ladies and gentlemen, we all know what our American cities are. We know the obstacles that hinder our march toward the civic ideal ; we know that progress must be slow ; but there is much to give us hope. The church—I am glad to say it—literature, legislation, are full of most hopeful augury. Even society on its shining heights is beginning to realize that there are abuses that need to be repressed. This National Municipal League and the Good Government Clubs all over our land have started on lines that will lead to the solution of many of our problems if we have the courage to persevere in the course upon which we have entered. Our most glaring need, even in this city of Louisville, which we love and are so proud of, is to get all our best people—merchants, manufacturers and bankers—aroused to give the city and citizens full service. If they would take the trouble to acquaint themselves with the city government and the real conditions of the people about them, or if they would set themselves to discover the evils that have existed and the best ways of meeting them, and if they would use the ballot and vote to put only men in office who would act rightly, there would be some hope of a speedy fulfillment of Washington's golden ideal of what an American city ought to be : " Clean, bright, safe, healthful, free from everything that could hurt or defile or destroy,

full of everything that could minister to the comfort, convenience, and happiness of the citizens; its laws wisely and impartially administered; its burdens equitably adjusted; its curse swift and deadly on those who despoil it of its revenues; its officials conscientious and self-denying in the public service; its citizens prompt to respond to the call of the community; its property-holders ready each to bear his portion of the public burden; its helpless wards tenderly cared for; its decrees and precepts sternly upheld." What a stimulating ideal that is, when the indifference of our best people and the timidity of many who are interested are more real obstacles to its realization than the selfishness and crookedness of politicians! (Applause). Most sincerely do I hope that the meeting of this Municipal League here in Louisville may awaken an enthusiasm for better civic government and arouse our citizens to a love for justice, decency, order, sobriety, purity and truth. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: A lady once said to a friend of hers whose husband was attempting in an humble way to do his part to improve certain conditions which were deemed bad, "I should think your husband would be discouraged." When the husband was apprised of this fact by his wife he said to her, "Say to your friend, frequently disgusted but never discouraged." The work of a reformer is a delightfully pleasant task. The penalty which a man pays for attempting to change the existing order of things is a mere bagatelle, and in order to impress upon you the direful consequences of ever attempting to eradicate an evil, however hideous it may be, I have chosen as the representative of the reformer a man whom I wish you to hear to-night. A man of long countenance and sad expression, as though he had the weight of Atlas on his shoulders, as though, if he was ever forgiven for having attempted to reform anything in the slightest degree, he never would be guilty again. I wish you to look upon the countenance of this reformer and take warning, and never be a reformer, unless, like him, you can come from the conflict unscathed, bright-faced, bright-eyed, full of determination to keep up the fight, even if it takes all night. I take great pleasure in presenting to you, as a reformer who has had his woes, Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York City.

MR. DEMING: That is rather an ominous introduction, that "all night" part of it, but there is some comfort in the fact that there is not much of the night left. I have a feeling of curiosity in rising here to-night. I am much more interested in what I am going to say than any of you can possibly be, because I do not know where I am going to begin, and your Chairman has very carefully told you that nobody knows where I am going to leave off. I feel the necessity of reintroducing myself to you, as I do not recognize his picture. The fact is, I am not a reformer;

I am a professional politician. I know all the tricks of the trade—every one of them; and another thing I ought to say to reintroduce myself, and by way of congratulation, I can say to you to-night, I had an idea that Louisville had not the great number of beautiful women she was reputed to have, because I could not see them, but to-night I am a little bit dazzled by the reality. Then there is another thing I think I ought to say, because I must get rid of certain things on my mind before my mind can really begin to work. I had the pleasure this afternoon of a good deal of Mr. Hornblower's society, and after a drive we had a little confidential dinner together, and really he didn't talk about civic pride at all. He talked about the woes of a reformer. The truth is, he has deluged me on that subject. Now, with that off my mind, you won't expect to hear so much about the woes of a reformer from me after that lurid picture.

Then there is another thing on my mind, at least I find it there. I have been a little bit puzzled since I sat down here to know what the woes of a reformer were. Of course, other folks are cranks and other folks' ideas utterly impracticable. That bothers everybody, but I don't know whether that bothers the reformer any more than the ordinary citizen. Of course, to be a reformer or a professional politician is to make yourself somewhat personally disagreeable, and you don't enjoy that. But the real woes of a reformer are the ordinary qualities of human nature, those persistent qualities that we really wish our friends and neighbors did not have. Those are the real woes of the reformer. You know if our friends the neighbors were as good as we are, and as they think they are, politics would be a clean, nice, well-paid profession, and there might be some comfort in being a professional politician as I am (you see I am not afraid to confess it here, but don't say anything about it outside, for I might lose my "inflooeence"). The truth is, if I may venture to speak the truth on such a subject, the woes of a reformer proceed from two causes. It is a very troublesome thing to have a conscience. If you didn't have a conscience you could have such an amazingly good time, and I am inclined to think perhaps the principal woe of a reformer is to be painfully aware that he has a conscience and that sometimes he cannot control it. Another thing that occurs to me as probably constituting one of the woes of a reformer—although in this presence you cannot put a reformer alone by himself and classify him, because we are all reformers here—is that after awhile he finds himself under that most painful duty of knowing something. Of course, you take it for granted that you have to know something to earn your living. You expect that as one of the penalties that you must suffer in order to earn your living; but really to be obliged to know something and know it well and not get any personal advantage out

of it is a severe trial. I assure you that is one of the severest trials of a reformer's life, because if there is anything more woful than that personal sensation on his part it is the extraordinary, the absolutely extraordinary, ominous feeling of smallness when confronted by the suggestion of others. If you want anything done in a political way in this country, no matter how difficult, you can find ten persons at least who can tell you exactly how to do it, and just as satisfactorily as people who have been studying the question for years. That is a woe of the reformer.

Now there is another thing that bothers a reformer. You have no idea how it does. It forms a very great part of his woe, and that is the remark, "We have just as good a government as we want," etc. Everybody knows that it is a lie, but we keep on saying it, and you know if you tell a lie often enough you may get to believe it yourself. I have been told that so often that I have begun to partially believe it.

Then there is another thing that constitutes one great woe of the reformer. They say the way to reform everything and the way to get everything just right is to attend the primaries. I am always glad when I receive that advice, and I always say to the other fellow, "How many primaries do you attend?" and I have broken some friendships by asking that question.

Then we hear such a deal said about civic indifference—that is not the phrase—civic apathy. That sounds well—that the trouble is that we are indifferent, we do not really care about it, and all that. When anybody who looks into the subject discovers that the root of the trouble is, we are helpless. We would not be indifferent if we felt that we had a chance. Let any fellow come along who will point out how you can do something which you consider effective and there is not a man here and there is not a woman here who would not jump at the idea.

Then we have fallen into a kind of notion that we are here taking care of our own affairs and the government is up there taking care of its affairs and that it is a bad government and a dishonest organization, just as if we were not part of that concern. If we are not a part of the concern, what is the use of calling this a democratic republic? What is the government of this country? Is it somebody in Russia? Is it some fellow who chooses to take off our shoulders the trouble of conducting the affairs of state and allows us the privilege of grumbling at it? If that is the government, let us stop making a fuss and go on and enjoy ourselves, and let the government do the best it can. I have no sort of sympathy with that kind of a statement, and it is one I hear a good deal of. I remember with a good deal of pride that in 1884, when there was nominated a certain man for President of the United States, there were some things

said regarding him that appealed to the consciences of a good many people. They believed his record to be wrong, and they thought that a man about whom such things were believed by a multitude of his fellow-citizens ought not to be elevated to the Presidency of the United States, and, believing it, many a man abandoned the party that had been to him like his religion—that was simply an exhibition of the homeliest and most ordinary virtue. Common honesty in connection with a party matter was such a difficult and such an unheard-of thing that I remember that in my little native town they held prayer-meetings over me. You smile, but let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that when in 1884 thousands upon thousands of what were considered Black Republicans abandoned their party because they felt it was a question of common honesty, it was like being separated from your church and from your dearest friends. You were ostracised for it. And I see before me gathered a group of representative men and women who, in 1896, for exactly the same reason did exactly the same thing with the Democratic party.

These two things, with the intervening history, show something that is developing in this country that, rightly handled, will uproot and destroy these evils. Let your civic pride be thrown to the winds if it must be, but for God's sake let us have a little civic courage. Is there any reason why you, sir, or you, should shake hands with a politician whom you know steals when you would not shake hands with a business man whom you know stole? Is there a different standard of honesty in public life from that which obtains in private? If you know a man is a thief call him a thief and dare him to bring suit for slander. Civic courage is the first prerequisite of every political reform.

Then there is another thing that you need greatly, and that is a little plain, old-fashioned civic common-sense. You do not need to become heroes or to fancy yourselves heroes. All you need to be is to be ordinarily honest men, or—well, of course you are honest women—and to have enough civic courage to hold other folks up to your notion. Now to allow you to exercise your civic common-sense—if any one of the ladies found things going wrong in their household they would go to work to find out what was the matter. They would not just spread a cloth over a dirty place and hope that somebody would not see it and let the result take care of itself. They would say, what makes this, who is doing it? They would hunt up the reason. If any one of you men in your business found that for some reason or other things were not going as they ought to go, common-sense would say, find out the reason, and when you found out the reason you would endeavor to apply a remedy. That is all you have to do in municipal government. Use your common-sense and be honest

with just a little bit of courage and I will tell you something that will happen when you do that—not that it has happened to me, but I have seen it happen to others. You will be amazed to find that there will arise in your breast a feeling of civic patriotism, and instead of regarding the government as something up there you will remember that that government when all is said and done is something for which not you but your children will pay the penalty. Why, if it was merely a matter or question of getting along in the easiest and most comfortable and most enjoyable way, what difference would it make to you or me that there is a little more or less stealing? If the municipal government was a little more or less corrupt, what difference would it make to you or me? We can get away from the most of it. We need not come into direct personal contact with it; but if you use your civic common-sense, if you know anything about the political history of this country you will find that there has been going on quietly here for fifty years a change which means, unless you do rouse yourself, that representative democratic institutions are doomed and your children won't have this government anyhow. What government they will have I at least am not wise enough to predict. And how any father can permit himself to remain quiet who has any knowledge of our present tendencies I must confess is to me so inconceivable that I cannot find words to express it. I may claim to have some intimate personal knowledge of political conditions, and it seems to me that representative democracy is absolutely lost. It no longer exists. The people do not nominate the candidates—they do not even elect the candidates to the Legislature, and the Legislature does not legislate for the people. And where is the trouble? I think you can see it very easily. Wherever any power is exercised by anybody, the exercise of that power is accountable to the source of the power. Don't you suppose, if our legislators were really responsible to the people, that they would pay some considerable regard to the wishes of the people, and if you find that the Legislature does not pay any regard to the wishes of the people, is it not perfectly clear that in some way or other they do not feel themselves accountable to the people? Now, to what or to whom do they feel accountable? We in New York do not have to look very far to find out. We find they are accountable to the person whom we call "The Boss." Why are they accountable to the boss? We find that the boss has control of the party machinery and that the party machinery controls the nomination. So there you have it. The boss controls the party machinery, the party machinery controls the nomination. So the nomination and the election are not by the people, but by the boss, so that the boss controls the Legislature, and of course the Legislature does what the boss says, because if they do not

they are a most ungrateful crowd. Now what makes the boss? It is perfectly simple—it is your party machinery. The party machinery is apparently so fair and so reasonable and so representative, just as your government is apparently representative. You say, "How does the boss get there?" It is extremely easy to see, if you think about it. The party machinery is complicated. Specialists are the ones to keep it going, and the boss specialist is the one who gets there. What is the remedy? Make it more really representative. In one community we do it one way and in another, another; but mark my words, you will have no permanent political reform that will stand the test of time unless you get the government and the party machinery back to what our fathers intended, a representative democracy. Get it back there, where the representative becomes responsible to the people, and you will have a free government and all the other things with it. There are efforts being made now along different lines, but you will not get to the root of the trouble until you get to that fountain-head, because under our scheme of government the root is the law-making power, and that is, after all, the supreme power. Make the exercise of that responsible to the people. And do not fancy that by getting something into your constitution and then going home and going to sleep, that you have chained the lion. We are constitution-mad in this country. We are forever trying to put something in the constitution to tie up the legislative power. Make that power subject to yourself, and then you can lead them by the nose and you won't need any constitution.

Now just reflect on another thought, and it is this: Government to-day under our conditions touches business at a thousand points that our fathers never dreamt of. We did not have big corporations in those days; we did not have big transportation companies, or life insurance companies, and all the rest of the many similar companies, all subject, more or less, to the Legislature, and therefore, in self-defense, they have a right to buy the Legislature. Government is touching business more and more every day, and government is doing more business than it ever did before. It is running an enormous business in the postoffice, and in the revenue service, and in the lighthouse service. Now, if there is one fundamental thing we must bear in mind it is that when you come to a question of administration that is business, not politics, you must fight for every cause which helps to take politics out of administration, and in your cities, which are practically matters of administration, keep politics in a partisan sense out.

Now, in conclusion, because I must conclude, the principal woe of a reformer, the woe he can never get rid of, is the dreadful fact that, like other human beings, in order to be an honest man he will have to be

honest, and in order to be a worthy American citizen, he will have to have some regard for the principles of freedom and some confidence in the people. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL : It is not always that reformers get into office, but there are instances which illustrate the fact that sometimes reformers in office may do valuable service to their constituents. I have the pleasure of presenting to you to-night a reformer, a practical politician, the Mayor of Chattanooga, a man who, when he went into office, found that the expenses of the city were two-thirds greater than they should be ; and by his perseverance and courage and tenacity of purpose he has succeeded in reducing the expenses to about what they should be without destroying the efficiency of his administration. It is with pride and pleasure that I present to you to-night Mayor George W. Ochs, of Chattanooga.

MAYOR OCHS : *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen* : It is indeed fortunate for you, gathered together here, that there is not quite as much elasticity in train schedules as in banquet speeches, and that the necessity of my catching an early morning train will insure an early adjournment, so far as I am concerned. I thank the Chairman very much for his exceedingly flattering introduction. I suppose the cause of such a presentation to this brilliant assembly arises in the fact that I am on Kentucky soil, where every man is a colonel and every woman a queen.

It sounds like a paradox to talk about a reformer being in office, and it is very seldom the case. The reformer gets into office most frequently as the politician rode into heaven. He came to the gates of the celestial home guarded by St. Peter, about which we heard to-night, and he knocked at the gate and Peter asked him, "Are you mounted or are you afoot?" He said, "I am afoot." "You cannot enter the gates of paradise unless you come mounted." So he goes back and mounting a horse rides up to the gates of paradise and knocks for admittance, and Peter asks him, "Are you mounted or are you afoot?" "I am mounted," said the politician. And Peter says, "Hitch your horse on the outside and enter into the celestial mansion." And that is the way, ladies and gentlemen, a reformer usually gets into office. He has to hitch reforms on the outside, and the politician enters into the sweets of political spoil.

My policy and the one that it has been my honor to advocate before the various sessions of the Municipal League I have had the honor of attending is that the only practical municipal reform that can be accomplished is for the municipal reformer to take his shield in his hand, to level his spear and go into the heat of the battle, and if we cannot win we will go down battling for principles that we all hold most dear.

I do not think municipal reform is a matter of law or a matter of char-

ter. Laws are good and charters are excellent, but I believe municipal reform consists in the personnel of the men who administer the municipal government. I believe it requires courage and integrity to accomplish this and to defeat the spoilsmen. That is practical municipal reform, and it is not the law, not the method, not the means that accomplishes it, but it is the purpose to accomplish it by force of personal intentions. That is municipal reform, and that is the only way I can see, as a practical politician, that it can be accomplished.

I think the people of Louisville are to be congratulated that they have a Municipal Civic Club organized here to disseminate the seeds of municipal reform in this community, and we municipal reformers can all take courage when we think that there is at the head of it one who is a heart well. I believe this community will stand back of him. I believe there is gathered at this festive board to-night the ability and the integrity and the courage to accomplish municipal reform, and I believe its accomplishment will be easy if the brains and the influence that I see before me lends itself to that aim.

The reformer in office has not been a very frequent occurrence in this country, but we have had some conspicuous examples. There has recently retired from office, from the highest within the gift of the American people, an official who has been a most conspicuous example of the reformer in office, and whose name, with increasing years, will go down into history as one of the bright and shining lights of American statesmanship—Grover Cleveland. (Applause). As a Southern Democrat, from the Volunteer State, I am proud to stand here to-night and do honor to that great American reformer, and I believe every reformer that sits at this table can take courage from the example of that distinguished man "who served his party best by serving his country best." The State of Kentucky has likewise furnished to the galaxy of American statesmen a conspicuous reformer in office in the Honorable John G. Carlisle, whom every American citizen is proud to honor and upon whose record every American citizen is proud to lay the laurel wreath for services well done to his country, to his State, and to his fellow-man. I am proud to stand on Kentucky soil and pay tribute to the courage, integrity, and ability of that great statesman who, along with Grover Cleveland, has lifted up public office and given us two of our brightest examples of reformers in office.

We have heard a great deal, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, of the woes of the reformer. We have heard much of the dreadful condition of some of our American cities. We have had to blush at comparisons between our cities and the cities of Continental Europe, and we stand and look with startled and amazed faces when we see the corruption that

seems to flow through all the arteries of our cities. But as the distinguished gentleman who first addressed us has said, we have faith in the future, we have faith in the American people, and I speak as one who lives upon sacred soil, who lives within the shadow of the mountain where Americans faced Americans in bloody conflict with drawn sword and glittering spear; they met upon the battlefield, and whether one was right or the other they poured forth their heart's blood upon the altar of duty, as they believed. The battlefields which surround Chattanooga are sacred, for we believe that every American freeman who battled on them believed himself to be right, and their courage and chivalry, whether of the one side or the other, makes us feel proud of the Americans, and there are to-day no men who will fight harder or quicker in defense of the common flag that now floats over our united country than the men who, in those days fighting for what they believed was principle, opposed it.

So, I believe the patriotism and the loyal courage of our American citizens will solve these municipal problems, and I believe our American cities will yet flourish as do the cities of Continental Europe. I believe these questions will yet be properly solved, and that every American citizen in years to come can point with pride filling his heart to his native city. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: There is a great difference between placing men in office for what they may extract from office and placing men in office because they are eminently qualified to fill the office. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Lucius B. Swift, Esq., of Indianapolis, who has made civil service reform a study and who will let us know his experience and some of his ideas in regard to the same.

MR. SWIFT: *Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I beg to assure you that it is not my fault that this speech is inflicted upon you at this late hour. I have done everything I could to relieve you of it. I came down from Indianapolis to do what I could to get the organization to meet there next year, and I am picked on at the end because I was in such a position, asking a favor, that I had to grant any request made of me. I hesitated very long before I consented to raise my voice in an assembly like this, for there runs in my mind when I think of Kentucky—colonels and orators. Not long ago at a dinner like this my friend Mr. Procter, who has done so much honor to Kentucky as the head of the Civil Service Commission, was introduced as General Procter, and he felt constrained to say that he was not a general, that he was not even a colonel, but plain Mr. Procter. This system of titles affords us outsiders some amusement, but when the war drums beat, these colonels by courtesy became real colonels, so real that they won the admiration and respect of all men, and when we have a

Kentucky orator at Indianapolis we listen to him with fixed attention and regret when the end comes. Now, so much for what is good in Kentucky ; and there are other things beside what I have mentioned, but I regret to say that they have not good city government. I know it is not quite delicate for a guest to be speaking so of the city in which he is, but I could not walk around the streets of the city of Louisville and honestly say you have the best kind of city government.

I have listened to a lot of the papers read at these meetings and I have heard charter after charter described, and this and that and the other remedy prescribed for this and that and the other evil, but after all we come back to the one question of what is the matter with our city government. What is the reason, for instance, that the street cleaner rests upon his broom instead of working ? What is the reason that the engineer force meets at the engineer's office at the beginning of the eight hours and then goes leisurely to the point at which they are to begin work, consuming from a half hour to an hour, and quits at the end of the eight hours in time to leisurely make his way back to the office instead of promptly reporting at the beginning of the eight hours at his place of work and quitting at the end of his eight hours at the same place ? What is the reason that we are having scandals about our city hospitals ? Why is it that one superintendent has to be put out because he has certain politics and another superintendent put in because he has different politics ? What is the reason that the Fire Department is found honeycombed with insubordination and that for fear of higher insurance rates it has to be reorganized ? What is the reason that there is a pretty steady procession of drunken policemen going before the Police Board ? All of these have occurred to my individual knowledge in the last eighteen months, and it makes no difference what kind of a charter you have, whether modern or ancient, it is always the same thing.

At Indianapolis we have a modern charter. The Mayor is the ruler of the city, and in so far as that officer is concerned I do not think anything can be said against him, but I feel constrained to say that the balance of our city government is honeycombed with politics of the most vicious kind.

Having said that of Indianapolis, I want to say for her that it is a beautiful city, and that, striking out five or six cities in the country, no city is governed better than Indianapolis ; and I will be candid enough to say that that is not saying very much for city government in this country.

Now, what is the matter ? Why is it that these things occur ? I have given the subject close attention. I was at the meeting of the League two years ago. I heard preached the doctrine that cities must control pri-

maries and must secure good nominations, and that was done, and I heard this, that and the other doctrine pressed and I have seen them all done. We take church members and make them mayors, and we take men under the control of the disorderly element and make them mayors, and the result is the same ; the party boss steps in and distributes the patronage and we get the same kind of government. I would just as soon have one as the other. I have no remedy to suggest, but I will say this, that if we could get the police and the fire and the street cleaning departments outside of politics—where the political boss could not control the appointments—there is a long step made for its improvement. Let the people in these departments understand that a proper performance of their duty will enable them to retain their positions, and it will not be difficult to keep them out of politics.

Excepting, of course, the street cleaning department and departments that could be called strictly labor, I would like to see all the positions under a city government strictly under civil service rules. Let the applicants all pass an examination, and let the list be made up according to proficiency and keep the list, and when a vacancy occurs let it be given to the top name on the list. In this way you would take from the political boss his appointments, and when that is done he ceases to be the political boss.

I know that they get up and howl against civil service and cry out that it is life tenure and a return to monarchy, but the point has been reached when something has to be done, and with an evil such as exists staring us in the face any means that improves present conditions should be adopted, and we must not let the cry of life tenure and return to monarchy and the necessity for rotation in office stop us in our work of reform. Let it be understood that appointments go by merit and let it be understood that a person once appointed holds as long as services are satisfactorily performed and you will see a vast improvement in the character of your public employes. Look at your railway mail service, a system almost perfect. Why should not we have the police and fire department comparatively as good. It can be done ? The only difference is that civil service controls the one and boodle politics the other. (Applause).

I did not mean to detain you so long when I arose, but this is a subject in which I am deeply interested and which I am reluctantly forced to discontinue because of the lateness of the hour. I shall be happy to continue next year at Indianapolis.

MR. HARTWELL : It is a wise general who never unmasks all his batteries at once. This ends the regular program, but there are so many men of ability present that the big guns being fired off, I have thought

some random shots might be entertaining, and as the first of these ten-minute speakers I shall call upon Prof. Goodnow, of Columbia University.

PROF. GOODNOW : *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* The Chairman says it is a wise general who does not reveal all his guns at once, but I think it is a wiser general who places his guns before he endeavors to use them.

The main thing that occurs to me at the present time with regard to this matter of municipal reform is the enormous difficulty that is going to be met in endeavoring to reform any government. If we do not make quite as much progress as we think we ought we should not be discouraged. The danger is that poor results in this direction may produce disgust. It is extremely difficult under any conditions, as I have said, to get good governments, and it is an extremely difficult thing on account of the fact that the government of any city or State represents simply an enormous opportunity for plunder, which, in most cases, throughout practically the entire history of the world, has been availed of by almost every class in society, from the top to the bottom. We find it in the Legislatures to which Mr. Deming has referred as affecting all branches of business; we find it in the city government, in the valuable franchises that the city government can dispose of. We have this opportunity for plunder on the one side, and I do not think I can express better what we have on the other side than to state an instance about which a friend of mine spoke to me as happening in one of the largest States in the Union and which in the winter months lies above the snow line. He said he was talking in a hotel with a member of the Legislature and the matter of legislators receiving money for votes being under discussion, he said, "You don't mean to tell me that you people really get money for what you are doing up here?" The legislator turned to him and said, "You don't suppose we come up here in the winter to eat snow?" With such conditions as that existing what can you expect and what remedy can you propose. I do not exactly like to repeat a story that was told at one of our meetings, but to illustrate the utter absence of any conception of the proper method of municipal government in this country, the Secretary said that after hearing the various papers that had been read praising this, that and the other sort of government, he could not but think of the rhyme :

" The centipede was happy quite
Until a frog, in fun,
Said, ' Pray which leg comes after which ? '
This raised his mind to such a pitch
He lay distracted in the ditch,
Considering how to run."

And that is the condition we are in at present, and that is the condi-

tion out of which, if possible, the National Municipal League hopes to pull the people. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: In arranging the program for this evening it has been my endeavor to give the time to our guests from abroad in order that we may hear what words they have to say to us. With Judge Humphrey, Colonel Bullitt, Mr. Knott, Judge Barr, and others here, we have such a flow of Kentucky oratory on tap that if the stop-cock should once be turned we should be here until the sun's rays appear in the eastern hills. So I will refrain from calling on any of them and will hear from our delegate from our sister city of Cincinnati, the only unmarried delegate present. I have never been one of those who believed that because a man lives in Cincinnati he should be ostracised in Louisville, or that he had no right to exist commercially anywhere else. And I am not afraid to present to you a worthy exponent of Cincinnati citizenship in the person of Mr. A. C. Cassat.

MR. CASSAT: *Ladies and Gentlemen*: If I were disposed, as I am not, to occupy the ten minutes Mr. Hartwell has given me, I should be deterred in doing so by the experience of the minister who attempted to regale his congregation by finding for them the place of Isaiah among the prophets. In order to find Isaiah's place among the prophets he found it necessary to ascertain the relative position of all the other prophets, and you know how many there are. And after placing prophet number one and prophet number two, on up to forty-nine, he raised his voice and said, "Where shall I put Isaiah?" Whereat a fellow in the gallery arose and said, "He can have my place; I am going home."

Now it might be said that it is not exactly the thing for me to ostracise Cincinnati, but I have studiously avoided any reference to the government of Cincinnati in the paper which I read to the League. I had started out to write that paper by saying that the administrative affairs of Cincinnati were well managed and that its money was not stolen. Something occurred which necessitated the laying away of the paper at that stage, and when I came to pick it up again a big leak in the Water Department had been discovered, and I felt that it would be unwise to make any reference to the government in its present chaotic condition; in fact, I feel about that pretty much like the elevator man in my building felt with reference to himself. A friend of mine was going down in the elevator with him and he said to him, "Billy, did anyone ever tell you his real, candid opinion of you?" "No, sir; he did not." "Well, Billy, if somebody should tell you his real, candid opinion of you what would you do?" "I would mash his face." So I have studiously avoided any discussion of the merits of the present system of city government in Cincinnati. I want to say

in conclusion that I have no doubt that this session of the League will be a great benefit to city government. I do not know what these people mean by talking about the woes of a reformer. I have had more genuine pleasure here to-night than I think the most successful spoilsman has ever had out of his job in the entire period of his sway. I think the business of a reformer is immensely delightful, and I always get pleasure out of any discussion about municipal reform, and the discussion hereafter will be enhanced, because any mention of the subject will always bring to my mind this Conference and the pleasures associated with it.

I believe in the principle which has been evolved out of all the papers and discussions we have had, and that is that whatever the charter may be, whatever may be the methods of your city government, whatever may be the system which is applied to that government, we must depend finally upon the intelligent and faithful devotion of the citizens. If we get away from that principle we are where we cannot succeed. Success depends on keeping that constantly before us. The minute we lose sight of that we shall be in the position of the pilot of a whaling vessel in some of the northern waters. He was a green hand at the business, merely substituting for a time, and the regular pilot had told him, "Now, I will point out to you the North Star, and I want you to keep your eyes fixed on that star and steer this vessel for it." The green fellow said, "All right, I will do it." But in the weariness of his work he fell asleep, and when he woke with a start he could not see the star in front of him any longer, and finally discovering it behind him he called up the pilot and told him to come up quickly, that he had sailed on under the star. And such will be our condition if we lose sight of the guiding star which has been laid down for us. (Applause).

MR. HARTWELL: *Ladies and Gentlemen*: In drawing to a close the festivities of this evening I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to our guests who have come from all parts of the country to make this meeting a success. As has been said, in one sense this has been the most representative session of the League we have ever had, from the fact that there have been so many different portions of the country represented. I wish to express, in behalf of the citizens of Louisville, the Good City Government Club and myself personally, our appreciation of your presence here. I wish also to extend to the ladies my hearty thanks that they accepted our invitations to attend this banquet. I hope they will be encouraged to join their influence to ours in this fight, and when they do it will make success assured. To the citizens of Louisville, who have assisted us in our attempt to entertain these guests, we feel deeply indebted, and I will say now, in behalf of the citizens of Louisville, God speed to our guests, and to our home folks, good night. (Applause).

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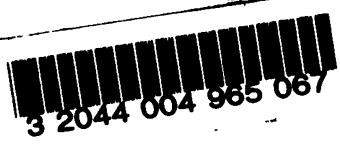
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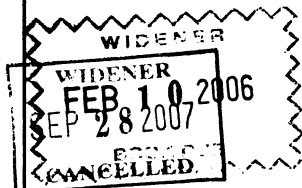
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